BROOKOVER

A

Sociology

of

Education

American Sociology Series

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A Sociology of Education

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To

Edna, Linda, Tom, and George,

who love me still

Preface

ONLY IN RECENT YEARS HAVE AMERICAN SOCIOL-
ogists, anthropologists, and social psychologists devoted their re-
search talents to investigation of educational institutions. For this
reason, in many sections of *A Sociology of Education,* the authors
can do no more than raise questions and state hypotheses; research
evidence at present is not sufficient for conclusions or generaliza-
tions. However, the need for a consolidation of the work which
has been done in the field, as well as the sincere desire to stimulate
further research in it, has led to the writing of this book.

In contrast to previous texts in educational sociology, this vol-
ume seeks to use the tools of sociology and social psychology in
analyzing the educational system and process. After an introduc-
tory section in which we give a definition of the sociology of edu-
cation, and state the social-psychological point of view with which
we work, we turn to various aspects of our analysis. In Part II we
consider the relations of the educational system to the larger society
and culture. In Part III we examine the culture and social structure
of the school as it functions in America. Next we analyze the
impact of the school on the personalities of teachers and pupils, who
spend a portion of their lives in it. Finally, two collaborators, Drs.
Orden Smucker and John F. Thaden, consider schools in relation
to the communities they serve.

Throughout the text, every effort has been made to maintain a
high level of objectivity. It is hoped that social scientists will ac-
cept the book as in the best traditions of the field. Since it is antici-
pated that many students and teachers who have not been trained
intensively in the field will find the text useful, it is written with as
little technical social-science jargon as possible. We have con-
served the ideas and framework of the social sciences, but have

drawn upon the educational experiences common to most Americans in order to increase the usefulness of the book.

The task of writing this book has taken a number of years. During that time, the manuscript has been used with several college classes. Most of the students in these classes have been elementary- and high-school teachers, whose reactions and criticisms have been extremely valuable.

The writing of any book involves the efforts of many persons besides the author. I wish to express my appreciation specifically to all who have assisted in this task. My collaborators, in addition to their own valuable portion of the book, gave many suggestions concerning other portions of the manuscript. Both as consulting editor and as academic mentor, Dr. Kimball Young contributed unstintingly of his time and knowledge to make the book better than it would otherwise have been.

My friends and colleagues, Drs. John and Ruth Useem, offered much through innumerable conversations and critical appraisals of portions of the manuscript. Dr. Walter Fee, as head of the Department of Social Science at Michigan State College, gave every possible encouragement and made available time and facilities essential to the completion of the task. Dr. Charles P. Loomis and my other colleagues in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and in the Basic Social Science Department provided constant encouragement and many suggestions.

Martha Biggerstaff Jones read the entire manuscript and offered many excellent suggestions; her enthusiasm has always been most encouraging. Sue Updike, Thelma Geil, Eva Mills, and June Forman rendered generous service in typing and proofreading the manuscript.

Acknowledgment is also made to the many publishers and authors who generously gave permission to use excerpts from books, magazine articles, and unpublished manuscripts.

The author is especially grateful to his wife, Edna Eberhart Brookover, and his three children, who patiently loaned husband and father to this project for extended periods of time. Also, their experiences in American schools provided illustrations and insight in numerous places in the book.

East Lansing, Michigan   *W. B. Brookover*

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PART **I**

Introduction

I. Education and Human Behavior

EVERY AMERICAN KNOWS SOMETHING ABOUT education. Our system of compulsory mass education gives every child and adult some experience in a formal education system, but few persons agree on its purpose and nature. Practically everyone has an attitude toward the three R's. For some, education is the means to a better way of living. For others, it is the process of teaching required skills. For some, it is an unpleasant memory of their childhood; for others, it is an endless pleasure. In any case, it is a common subject of conversation and formal discussion.

An inquiry "What is education?" would bring many different answers. Some persons would emphasize the training in basic skills; others, character building; still others, vocational preparation. For many, "education" is strictly an individual learning process; learning to them is a matter determined by some vague characteristic of the biological organism. For others, the query would result in an explanation of why their child's failure to learn is the fault of the teacher exclusively. This variation in ideas about education requires that we have an understanding of its nature and purposes before we consider the social characteristics of the educational system.

Our basic premise is that education is concerned with teaching the members of the society how they are expected to behave in a variety of selected situations. This means that education deals with the development of, and changes in, human behavior. Much education involves transmitting to the young skills, beliefs, attitudes,

and other aspects of behavior which they have not previously acquired. In the older age groups particularly, it involves substituting new ideas, beliefs, and skills for previously acquired ones. In any event, education is the process of teaching and learning expected patterns of human conduct.

The second premise is that human behavior is essentially social. Of course, some behavior is learned with little or no interaction with other persons, but only a small proportion of the activities of the human being is performed without reference to other human beings. Behavior is either in direct association with others or is greatly influenced by previous associations. Nearly all of what we learn comes as a result of direct interaction between teachers and learners in the family, on the playground, in school, and in the whole wide range of adult educational experiences. Nearly all education, therefore, involves socially oriented activities. Definitions of what is to be taught, either in or out of school, are also socially derived. The content of education — what is to be taught and what omitted — is determined by the group of which the student is a member. Of course, individual characteristics of the child or youth being taught are also factors in the learning process, but in a real sense education is a social process. This is true because of the nature of the behavior to be acquired and also because of the process by which learning occurs.

We also need to recognize that it is education through which societies are perpetuated. In order to continue, a society must transmit its beliefs, values, skills, and other behavior expectations to its new members. In short, each society transmits its culture, with some changes, to successive generations. This may be done in the day-to-day interaction with the children and youth without recognition of the fact that education is taking place. Sometimes part of the task may be given to specially designated teachers. Regardless of the organization of its educational process, each society seeks to perpetuate its culture by teaching it to the oncoming generations.

Actually, therefore, in the broadest sense, education is synonymous with socialization. It includes any social behavior that assists in the induction of the child into membership in the society, or any behavior by which the society perpetuates itself through the new generation. Margaret Mead uses the term in this sense when she

defines education as "the cultural process, the way in which each newborn human infant . . . is transformed into a full member of a specific human society." [1]   James B. Stroud also defines education as the process by which societies perpetuate or renew themselves.[2]

In this broad sense, education begins for the individual whenever he first interacts with any of the other members of society in such a way that he is conditioned by their behavior.   The adjustment of the child to a feeding schedule is certainly an early educational event.   And the process of adaptation continues as long as the individual participates in the social-cultural milieu.

This definition does not distinguish between society as the teacher and the individual as the learner.   Rather, it suggests the continuous and inseparable relationship between the individual and society.   This learning is a constant educational or socialization process.   The individual is both teacher and learner.   The culture is constantly modified, even though, in general, it fixes the behavior of the individual.   The individual both learns from the cultural behavior of those about him and teaches others his own interpretation of expected behavior.

If this were a study of education in all societies, rather than primarily an analysis of education in American society, the above concept is the one we would have to use.   In many primitive cultures, there is no idea of a separate, "formal" educational system. Margaret Mead [3] points out that the Manus and other primitive peoples have no concept of *teaching* the children specific aspects of the culture.   It is rather assumed that the new generation will learn what it needs to know in order to assume full membership in the society.   If this learning does not occur, the people may laugh at the new generation for its failure, but there is no thought of placing upon a *teacher* the responsibility for this learning.

Even in civilized societies, most of the basic habits and patterns of the culture are learned in this informal education — or socialization — process.   The learning, in other words, is incidental to participation in society.   The language, food and eating habits, and

[1] Margaret Mead, "Our Educational Emphasis in Primitive Perspective," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 48, 1943, p. 633.
[2] James B. Stroud, *Psychology in Education,* New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1946, p. 1.
[3] *Op. cit.,* p. 634.

the fundamental personality patterns of American children and youth are learned more in informal associations than in formal educational situations.   For this reason, any complete definition of education must include this kind of learning.   However, since this book focuses attention on formal education in America, in which teachers are designated to initiate the process of learning, little attention will be given to other phases of the broader, universal educational process.

Therefore, the term *education* is used, unless otherwise indicated, to refer to a system of schools, in which specifically designated persons are expected to teach children and youth certain types of acceptable behavior.   The school system then becomes a unit in the total social structure and is recognized by the members of the society as a separate social institution.   Within this structure, a portion of the total socialization process occurs.   We will examine the formal school as both a social structure and as a socializing agent.

In the past, education was thought of as the process of transmitting certain kinds of knowledge from the teacher to the student. This knowledge had only a limited relationship to other aspects of the student's conduct.   Contemporary educators see such knowledge as a part of the total behavior of the person.   Education is now concerned with the whole child.   All aspects of behavior, i.e., the total personality, are the objects of education in modern America. With this concept, the educator must understand the nature of human behavior and the processes by which behavior is acquired.

In this volume we are not primarily concerned with the development of human behavior.   Our interest is in American schools as a social phenomenon, the relationship between the schools and the larger society, and the relationship between the school and the individuals within the school.   Our analysis does, however, reflect our concept of human behavior and the processes by which it is acquired.   Since there are varying theories of personality and learning, a brief discussion of the development of human behavior and of the nature of the learning process is necessary.   Although we can give only a bare outline of major postulates, such a discussion will provide a common basis for the subsequent analysis of education.

In this discussion, *personality* is used to refer to the behavior of a human being.   Such behavior may be either overt and observable

by other persons, or it may be internalized behavior which is not directly observable.   Since nearly all human conduct is either in relation to other persons or is affected by relations with others, personality is essentially a social phenomenon.   As people live in groups and share common experiences, they develop common and mutually expected behavior patterns.   These common aspects of the behavior of persons living in a specific society are known as *culture*.   True, the personality includes idiosyncratic behavior, but much of a person's behavior is common to the group.   To this extent "culture" and "personality" refer to the same behavior.   When we examine culture we focus on behavior from the viewpoint of the group; in analyzing personality we are concerned with individual behavior.

FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR

There are many theories of the causes or forces influencing human behavior.   Some attribute all behavior to a single set of forces.   For example, the biological determinists maintain that we behave as we do because of forces inherent in the organism.   Some geographers have overemphasized the influence of the physical environment on behavior, while others have disregarded the contribution of both organic and geographic factors.   Actually, an analysis of the forces influencing human behavior must include not only both these factors, but also the one of social-cultural learning in the acquiring of human personality.

Biological organism.   Personalities do not exist apart from the biological functioning of the individual.   For this reason, it is axiomatic that the nature of the organism is a factor in the emergence of any human activity.   Therefore, an analysis of the nature of the organism is essential to any understanding of human behavior.

Two very broad but significant characteristics of the human biological specimen are immediately observable.   All are *homo sapiens* and therefore have many general organic structures in common.   Except for the malformed or injured, all individuals have similar skeletal structure — hands with opposing finger and thumb; mechanisms for making sound; auditory, visual, and other sensory mechanisms; and many other common organs.   Yet there is much

variation. The most obvious differences are the external ones, which are the bases for the usual classification of races. In addition to these, there are other observed, and probably as yet some unobserved, differences in the individual organisms. Although many of these differences are of little importance in behavior development, others may be responsible for variance in the ability of the organism to learn particular habits or to participate in various forms of activity. Both the similarities and the differences in *homo sapiens* are largely due to the combination of genes which occurred at the conception of the new organism. Of course, some changes may occur later as a result of diet, exercise, disease, or injury, but the basic nature of the organism is determined by a hereditary or genetic process.

Since we are primarily concerned with behavior, it is important to note the most essential biological processes. First, there is the combination of chemical and other processes by which life goes on. Behavior is, of course, impossible unless the organism lives. The biochemical processes of living are fundamental in the establishment of personality patterns. These processes may be the basis for variations in reaction time and in the manner in which the organism functions in different situations.

Perhaps the most significant of the organic processes in human development is the one by which learning, retention, and recall occur. Sensory stimulations are received in the organism through the auditory, visual, tactile or other channels, including the internal sensory organs. By some process as yet unknown, these sensory experiences are retained in the organism and may later be consciously or subconsciously recalled in such a way that they modify other sensory experiences. Behavior, of course, involves other biological processes, but those mentioned here are sufficient to indicate the nature of the concept for future discussion. The important principle to note is that the organism provides both the basis for continuation of life and the mechanisms through which the individual acquires elaborate and varied behavior. The latter refers to the learning process.

There are, of course, individual differences in the mechanisms through which learning occurs, just as there are variations in external appearances. In presumably similar situations, one child learns a particular type of behavior more readily than another.

This characteristic of the learning mechanism is called intelligence. During the past half century, innumerable tests have been designed to measure intelligence. These are very useful in distinguishing between individuals who learn certain types of behavior at varying rates. It should be recognized, however, that there is no device which measures the biological processes involved in learning. Differences in the central nervous system, glandular conditions, and other organic factors in the learning process must still be inferred from the nature and the extent of learning that occurs.

Scientific evidence does not support a common lay belief that elaborate patterns of behavior are rigidly fixed in the organism. The child at the earliest observable stage has a limited number of generalized responses to a few external stimuli, but differentiated responses to various specific stimuli do not stem from the original nature of the organism. Such aspects of behavior as hunger, fatigue, avoidance of pain, certain reflexes, and a few generalized unlearned responses to such stimuli as loud sound, loss of support, and restriction of movement are common to all human organisms. Most behavior, however, varies with individual experiences.

Certainly the ability to learn a particular type of behavior may vary with the differences in the structure of the organisms or the way in which the biological processes function. Comparison of persons living in various social situations indicates that little behavior, other than these involuntary biological processes, is fixed by, or inherent in, the organism. Whatever else the human being does, he must learn to do. Whether or not the individual has the facilities to learn a particular kind of behavior is dependent on the nature of the organism. The condition of the organism may also affect the speed or facility with which behavior of a particular sort is learned. Little is known about the nature of the organic conditions most conducive to learning, but variations in the central nervous system, the level of energy, glandular balance, and other aspects of the organism may modify the retention and recall processes.

Natural environment.   The impact of the geographical environment on behavior has been the subject of widely varying hypotheses. These range from the position that matters of climate, season of

birth, and other geographic factors determine behavior to the contention that natural environment has no impact on the culture of a people. Neither of these extreme positions can be supported by adequate proof.

Natural environment provides the place and materials necessary for living. Certainly life is impossible without oxygen, soils for the growth of food, moisture, and a temperature within certain ranges. Furthermore, the materials used in the processes of human behavior come from the physical world. Tools, methods of transportation, housing, and clothing are possible only if the natural environment provides the raw materials for making these things.

In spite of their importance and necessity, the mere presence of certain materials does not determine behavior. The knowledge and habits necessary for their use must first become part of the culture. Moreover, the nature of that use depends on the function the item serves in the society involved. Iron, for example, was originally used by the Greeks for ceremonial purposes.

Physical environment may encourage or facilitate certain types of behavior as well as set the limits within which behavior occurs. The abundance of timber in the Pacific Northwest encouraged its use for building to a greater extent than in other areas. A sawdust burner is a common heating device in the state of Washington, but is unusual in the East.

Today, cultural development and the diffusion of knowledge through communication and transportation enable groups to use the materials and resources from many areas. Again, the knowledge and patterns of behavior which people acquire select the uses of natural resources.

To summarize, human behavior cannot exist apart from a natural environment. The natural environment sets the stage and the material limits within which behavior develops. These limits, however, are constantly modified by changes in knowledge. The natural environment does not create any specific patterns of behavior, although certain aspects of it may encourage and channelize particular practices.

Social-cultural environment.   The third factor in the development of human behavior is the social-cultural environment. All people live in groups and communicate with one another by sym-

bolic means.   Human beings learn their behavior from others in the society.   Furthermore, almost everything the individual does (except the purely vegetative, physiological functions), including what he thinks and feels, is done in relation to someone else.   The individual's learned behavior, then, is dependent on something external to the organism.   This, in turn, is subject to the limitations previously stated: the physical environment must provide the materials, and the organism must provide the equipment for learning and the means of maintaining life.

Some evidence concerning the importance of association with others in the development of human personality is provided by case histories of children who have been isolated from human contact. There are not many such cases on record, and the mythical character of some makes their use invalid, but a recent case, thoroughly investigated by Kingsley Davis,[4] illustrates the significance of the human association.

Anna, in this case, was isolated from practically all human contact from the time she was five and one-half months old until she was nearly six.   At the latter age she did practically none of the things expected of a six-year-old child.   She could not walk, talk, or do anything showing common human characteristics.   Even though Anna had not reached a normal level of behavior before her death at the age of ten, in the four years she lived in association with others, she had rapidly acquired some of the responses expected of children.   She could walk and run; she could bounce and catch a ball; her toilet habits were established; and in general, she conformed in group activities.   More important than anything else, she had acquired some facility in speech.   She was reported in no way peculiar, except that she was retarded.

It is, of course, impossible to determine to what extent Anna's retardation may have been due to deficient organic equipment in learning.   The extent to which she may have been organically deficient in the processes of receiving stimuli, in retaining memory images, and in recalling experiences limited her learning in both the isolated and the social situations.   The organic functioning and maturation of the child did not result in human behavior.   The significant fact is that she did not acquire her distinctly human be-

[4] Kingsley Davis, "Extreme Isolation of a Child," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 45, 1940, pp. 554–565; and "Final Note on a Case of Extreme Isolation," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 52, 1947, pp. 432–437.

havior patterns until she had an opportunity to interact with people who behaved in these ways.

Comparison of children in other societies helps in understanding the role of social-cultural environment in the development of human behavior. Language, eating habits, types of clothing, religious beliefs, family roles, and other behavior vary from one society to another. The child learns English only if he associates with English-speaking people. His attitudes and beliefs about God, work, and property, and his other basic concepts vary with those of the models with whom he has interacted. Though the speed and readiness with which the child learns the language, the values, and behavior may vary because of individual differences in the organisms, no child learns language or the many other common behavior patterns without such models.

The social-cultural environment involves two aspects. The first, interaction between people, may be termed *social*. The second, *culture*, is the common and usually shared behavior of the group. This includes language, values, norms of behavior, and a variety of customs and other expected ways of doing things.

We may summarize the contribution of this social-cultural environment as follows: First, the newborn child is not able to live without the assistance of adults. Second, in the process of associating, human beings in all societies have developed symbolic means of communication. The core of the symbols is language. Such symbolic communication is extremely important in the learning process. It permits a more rapid transfer of experience and the transmission of much behavior from one generation to another. Without language the child would be greatly restricted in the range of behavior he could acquire. The third basic contribution of the social-cultural environment is that it provides the models or examples of behavior. To illustrate, the child can learn to read only if there are written symbols available in the society, and only if there are people in that society who serve as models for the reading process. These people must then also communicate to the child the meaning of the symbols. Thus, behavior can be acquired only in a social-cultural situation.

Each of the three sets of factors contributing to the development of human behavior is essential. The long-standing discussion of the relative importance of heredity and environment is therefore

pointless.   No human behavior is possible without a particular type of biological organism, which is inherited.   Neither is it possible without the environment — both physical and cultural.

THE NATURE OF HUMAN LEARNING

Since most behavior is learned, some understanding of the basic aspects of the learning process is essential to an analysis of the educational system.   One of the basic difficulties in arriving at a sound understanding of the learning process is the difficulty of controlling all aspects of the learning situation.   Much of the research on learning has been done in laboratory experiments.   The conclusions of such investigations do not always apply to the wide range of social learning that occurs in the life of every person.   One of the most widely accepted analysis of the learning process is that developed by Clark Hull.[5]   Abbreviated but somewhat more readable explanations of the learning process with particular reference to the social aspects of learning are presented by Neal Miller and John Dollard,[6] and Kimball Young.[7]   Any analysis of the learning process is necessarily complex, but an explanation of its fundamental aspects is all we can present here:

The field of human learning covers phenomena which range all the way from the simple, almost reflex, learning of a child to avoid a hot radiator, to the complex processes of insight by which a scientist constructs a theory.   Throughout the whole range, however, the same fundamental factors seem to be exceedingly important.   These factors are: *drive, response, cue* and *reinforcement*. They are frequently referred to with other roughly equivalent words — drive as motivation, cue as stimulus, response as act or thought, and reinforcement as reward.

A Simple Experiment:

The fundamental principles of learning can be illustrated by a simple experiment which can easily be repeated by anyone who desires firsthand experience with the operation of the factors in-

[5] Clark L. Hull, *Principles of Behavior,* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1943; and *Essentials of Behavior,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951; and *A Behavior System,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952.
[6] Neal E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941; *Personality and Psycho-therapy,* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950, part II, pp. 25–94.
[7] Kimball Young, *Personality and Problems of Adjustment,* second ed., New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1952, chap. 4, pp. 70–96.

volved in learning.   The subject is a girl six years old.   It is known that she is hungry and wants candy.   While she is out of the room, a small flat piece of her favorite candy is hidden under the bottom edge of the center book on the lower shelf of a bookcase about four feet long.   The books in the center of this row are all dark in color and about the same size.   The other shelves contain a radio, some magazines, and a few more books.

The little girl is brought into the room; she is told there is a candy hidden under one of the books in the bookcase and asked if she wants to try to find it.   After she answers, "Yes," she is directed to put each book back after looking under it and is told that if she finds the candy, she may keep the candy and eat it.

Immediately after receiving these instructions, the little girl eagerly starts to work.   First, she looks under the few books on the top shelf.   Then she turns around.   After a brief pause, she starts taking out the books on the lower shelf, one by one.   When she has removed eight of these books without finding her candy, she temporarily leaves the books and starts looking under the magazines on the top shelf.   Then she returns to look again on the top shelf under several of the books that she has already picked up.   After this, she turns toward the experimenter and asks, "Where is the candy?"   He does not answer.

After a pause, she pulls out a few more books on the bottom shelf, stops, sits down, and looks at the books for about half a minute, turns away from the bookcase, looks under a book on a nearby table, then returns and pulls out more books.

Under the thirty-seventh book which she examines, she finds the piece of candy.   Uttering an exclamation of delight, she picks it up and eats it.   On this trial, it has taken her 210 seconds to find the candy.

She is sent out of the room, candy is hidden under the same book, and she is called back again for another trial.   This time she goes directly to the lower shelf of books, taking out each book methodically.   She does not stop to sit down, turn away, or ask the experimenter questions.   Under the twelfth book she finds the candy.   She has finished in eighty-six seconds.

On the third trial, she goes almost directly to the right place, finding the candy under the second book picked up.   She has taken only eleven seconds.

On the following trial the girl does not do so well.   Either the previous spectacular success has been due partly to chance, or some uncontrolled factor has intervened.   For example, the little

girl might say to herself as a result of previous experiences with hiding games, "He'll probably change the place now that I know it." This time the girl begins at the far end of the shelf and examines fifteen books before finding the candy. She has required eighty-six seconds.

Thereafter, her scores improve progressively until, on the ninth trial, she picks up the correct book immediately and secures the candy in three seconds. On the tenth trial, she again goes directly to the correct book and gets the candy in two seconds.

Her behavior has changed markedly. Instead of requiring 210 seconds and stopping, asking questions, turning away, looking under magazines, searching in other parts of the room, picking up wrong books, and making other useless responses, she now goes directly to the right book and gets the candy in two seconds. She has learned.

Factors Involved in Learning:

The first factor involved in learning is drive. Before beginning, the experimenters had to be sure that the little girl wanted candy. Had she not been motivated, the experiment would certainly have been doomed to failure.

Drive impels the subject to act or respond. Response is the second factor involved in learning. Had the act of picking up a book not been in the girl's repertory of responses, it would have been impossible to teach her to find the candy.

Responses are elicited by cues. In this case, the drive for candy, the directions given to the girl, and the whole setting of the room are parts of the general pattern of cues. Possible specific cues to the response of picking up a given book are the color, size, and markings of the book, and the position of that book in relation to the rest of the bookcase. Were there nothing distinctive about the correct book to serve as a cue, it would be impossible for the girl to learn to solve this problem.

Since the girl's first natural response to the situation, looking under the top book on the upper shelf, does not bring her the candy, she is not rewarded, i.e., this response is not reinforced. Since reinforcement is essential to the maintenance of a habit, the unsuccessful response tends to be weakened and not to reappear. This gives other responses a chance to occur. The girl tries successively a number of different responses, asking questions, turning away,

sitting down, and picking up other books. This is what is often wrongly called random behavior.

Finally, one of the responses is followed by seeing, seizing, and eating the candy. This is the reward or, to describe it more technically, reinforcement. On subsequent trials a response that has been followed by reward will be more likely to recur. This increase in the probability of recurrence of a rewarded response may be expressed in shorthand fashion by saying that the reward has strengthened the connection between the cues and the rewarded response. Without some sort of reward, the girl would never learn to go regularly to the correct book. The rewarding effect of the candy depends upon the presence of the drive and tends to produce a reduction in strength of this drive. After eating a large amount of candy, the girl would be satiated and stop looking for it.

The relationship among the fundamental factors may be grasped in a brief summary. The drive impels responses, which are usually also determined by cues from other stimuli not strong enough to act as drives but more specifically distinctive than the drive. If the first response is not rewarded by an event reducing the drive, this response tends to drop out and others appear. The extinction of successive nonrewarded responses produces so-called random behavior. If some one response is followed by reward, the connection between the cue and this response is strengthened, so that the next time that the same drive and other cues are present, this response is more likely to occur. This strengthening of the cue-response connection is the essence of learning.[8]

It is important to recognize that the four aspects of the learning process described above are interrelated and sometimes overlap. Stimuli which are simply cues to respond in one situation may have drive significance in another. The sight of the teacher entering the schoolroom or certain symbolic behavior from her may be a signal to start studying. At the same time the teacher may be the symbol which elicits the drive or motivation to study. The drive which impels the person to respond may be either an organic or unlearned one, or it may be acquired from the culture. The former would be termed an innate or primary drive; the latter, secondary or learned.

Teachers frequently fail to recognize the importance of all four phases of the learning process. Motive or drive may be present,

[8] John Dollard and Neal E. Miller, *Personality and Psycho-therapy,* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950, pp. 25–30. Reprinted by permission.

and cues may be given, but unless a rewarded or reinforced response follows, learning is not likely to be effective.   If only unrewarded responses are available to the student, his learning will be blocked. One of the techniques of successful teaching is the ability to arrange the situation so that the learner gives a correct response.   Once made, such responses must be reinforced or rewarded if they are to be repeated in similar situations.

THE PLACE OF INTERACTION IN LEARNING HUMAN BEHAVIOR

We have noted the essential factors in the development of human behavior and the basic principles of learning.   One other aspect, the function of social interaction and role-taking in human behavior, is basic to our analysis of the educational system.   No completely valid conclusions can yet be made concerning the process by which the individual learns to behave.   The following theoretical concepts widely accepted by social psychologists provide a common basis for further analysis.

Typically human behavior, in contrast with organic functions, emerges only in interaction with other persons.   Interaction is initiated early in life through the organic facilities for receiving external as well as internal stimuli.   This process may be illustrated by the feeding situation.

The child is in need of food.   The involuntary reaction to that need may involve contractions of the digestive system, random movements of the body, a cry, and other actions observable to others.   The child senses all of these actions through both internal and visual or auditory stimuli.   The reactions of others vary with the practices of the given society.   Generally, these include the behavior of the mother or her surrogate, food of some sort to satisfy the need, and other aspects of the total situation such as the nursery, clothing, and other features.

The fundamentals of learning are all present in this situation. The drive or need for food impels the organism to action.   This is originally a random and involuntary bodily action such as crying and kicking.   The mother provides the possibility of a satisfying response.   This response is reinforced by the satisfaction of the hunger drive.   The mother's breast or the bottle is the cue commonly associated with the reinforced responses.   In short, the learning

in this situation can occur only through interaction with the other person. After a time, the originally involuntary cry which was the cue for the mother's response acquires a meaning for the child as well. He then initiates the cry in anticipation of the later actions which satisfy the drive. This is the beginning of symbolic communication which greatly facilitates the interaction process.

As the individual acquires experience in a particular situation through direct behavior or symbolic communication, patterns of expected behavior are established. In the feeding situation the child comes to expect the mother to do certain things in response to his reactions. When such patterns of expected behavior are established and the child is able to identify himself with, or take the role of, the other person, his own conduct is then oriented toward the desired response of other persons. In other words, the child will initiate a particular behavior pattern, verbal or otherwise, in order to call out the anticipated or expected behavior in the other person as well as in himself. If the person has not learned the expected behavior for the particular situation, the anticipated behavior may not result. In this case, a new response occurs which may then affect future behavior. Eventually the individual learns in this manner which response is expected and what is permitted in many varying situations.

The expected and permitted behavior is learned with varying degrees of permanence for every recurrent situation. In each case the patterns of expectancy are defined by the people as the norm for the particular situation. If some dissimilarity is permitted, the norm will be either less clearly defined than in other instances, or there will be special norms for persons performing different functions in society. This is illustrated by the divergent type of garb worn by the clergy in many situations. Finally, the definitions of expected and permitted behavior apply to the covert patterns of thought and beliefs as well as the overt actions of the person.

The above analysis indicates that the behavior of the normal adult in any society follows the culturally defined patterns of expectancy in a given situation. In fact there are no such patterns, except as individuals behave in harmony with them and in such ways that the younger persons who associate with the adults learn to behave in the expected manner. Much of a person's conduct, in relation to other persons and incidents as well as to himself — that

is, his personality — is defined by the culture.   Of course, not every aspect of individual behavior is culturally defined.   As the person moves from one situation to another, his behavior changes in terms of the definition of expected behavior associated with the particular situation.   Thus, personality alters with the roles we play in various situations.

EDUCATIONAL PROCESS AND PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

The major function of education is to transmit to the child or youth the patterns of behavior expected of him in some of the more frequently recurring situations in the society.   As a part of the process, the tools or symbols of communication are made known to him so that the transmission of behavior patterns can occur more rapidly.   Although the major emphasis in our discussion will be on the education concerned with the younger generations, we recognize that the totality of the individual's interaction with others is education if we think of it in the very broadest sense.   A person never ceases to acquire new experiences which affect his concept of what is expected of him in the many situations in which he participates.   As we have noted earlier, education is therefore a continuous process, and every person in every social situation is both a teacher and a learner.   Whether conscious of it or not, the individual transmits to his associates some picture of how he expects them to behave in a given situation, and he, in turn, receives from them an idea of the reaction expected from him.   Social life and personality would be impossible if this were not true.

When equated to this process of socialization, education is a more comprehensive matter than that usually described by the term. It is imperative to understand the fundamental nature of education, for in our concern with the techniques and mechanisms of teaching and learning in the formal school situation, the fact that all social interaction is educative and that all education occurs through social interaction is frequently overlooked.

The condition of the biological organism may limit the possibilities of learning.   The physical environment provides the materials; but the ideas, habits, attitudes, and beliefs in terms of which the child is expected to behave are acquired from the social-cultural environment through interaction with other persons and ob-

jects. Furthermore, whatever action the person displays has grown out of his relations with others in the situations in which he has participated. If the society desires its members to behave in a particular manner, it must place the rising generation in social situations where such conduct is practiced and expected. The best techniques of teaching are of no avail unless they are designed to facilitate rather than to ignore the social interaction in the learning situation.

With this theoretical frame of reference, the nature of the social situation within and around the school must be understood if the educational system is to function effectively. In the following chapters, an analysis is made of the relation of the school to the larger society within which it functions, as well as to the nature of the social roles and structures within the school itself.

Questions for Discussion

1. Why is education important to any society?
2. With what other definitions of personality (besides that given on p. 6) are you acquainted?
3. "The physical environment must provide the materials, and the organism must provide the equipment for learning and the means of maintaining life." In the light of this statement, what is the function of the school in the educational process?
4. Comment on the case of Anna (p. 11). What principle of learning is illustrated here?
5. "The teacher may be the symbol which elicits the drive or motivation to study." How? Give examples.
6. "Not every item of individual behavior is culturally defined." Give examples. How do they affect the culturally defined parts of behavior?
7. Compare and contrast the basic tenets of the social-psychological theory of learning in this chapter and the basic assumptions about learning that characterize current child-growth theories.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Bonner, Hubert, *Social Psychology,* New York: American Book Co., 1953, Chapters 3–7 and 12.

Clayton, Alfred S., *Emergent Mind and Education,* Contributions to Education, No. 867, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943.

Dewey, Richard S., and Humber, Wilbur J., *The Development of Human Behavior,* New York: Macmillan, 1951, Chapters 2–7, and 21.

Miller, Neal E., and Dollard, John, *Social Learning and Imitation,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.

Young, Kimball, *Personality and Problems of Adjustment,* 2nd ed. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1952, Chapter 4.

2. Sociology of Education: a Definition[1]

ANY DISCUSSION OF SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION must take into consideration the development of educational sociology. At the turn of the present century, there was considerable enthusiasm for the development of a new discipline or at least a branch of sociology known as educational sociology. By 1914,[2] as many as sixteen institutions were offering courses called educational sociology.

By 1923 the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology[3] had been organized. This society met with both the American Sociological Society and the Department of Superintendents of the National Education Association. Between 1923 and 1931 three yearbooks were issued by this organization. These publications were discontinued, and the *Journal of Educational Sociology*, founded in 1928 by E. G. Payne, became the official organ of the group. The independent existence of the society[4] ceased about that time. Sociologists interested in problems of education have since met as the educational sociology section of the American Sociological Society at most of the annual meetings. The early demise of the National Society, which was made up of educational specialists as well as sociologists, is indicative of the divergence of interests in this group.

[1] Much of this chapter is taken from W. B. Brookover, "Sociology of Education: A Definition," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 14, 1949, pp. 407–415.
[2] D. H. Kulp, *Educational Sociology,* New York: Longmans, Green, 1932, p. 536.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 554.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 555.

A decrease in the number of courses in educational sociology has been noted by various persons.   Herrington [5] found a decline in courses from 1926 to 1947.   This decrease may be due in part to the substitution of other sociology courses in schools of education and in teachers colleges.   However, in the past few years few sociologists have been interested in educational sociology, and apparently there has been no increase in interest in departments of education.

The purpose of this chapter is twofold: (1) to examine what has been included under the rubrics, educational sociology and sociology of education, in order to understand the trends in the field; and (2) to delineate areas of research involving educational processes in which sociologists are qualified to work and in which considerable numbers have shown interest.   The latter will provide the basic outline of the remainder of this volume, even though there are many areas in which little work has been done.

AREAS OF STUDY BY EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGISTS

The study by Lee [6] in 1927 indicated that educational sociology courses had little similarity to one another.   They seemed to be a hodgepodge of subjects which instructors in sociology and education had put together for the training of teachers and others interested in education.   The study of the aims of educational sociology by Moore [7] in 1924 indicated similar content.   A survey of the literature in educational sociology, including books as well as the periodical literature which defined or delineated the field, leads to a similar conclusion.   An examination of several concepts of educational sociology indicates the divergent ideas of the field.

Educational sociology as the means of social progress.   Several of the early sociologists thought of educational sociology as a field which provided the basis for social progress and the solution of social evils.   This probably stemmed from the work of Lester F. Ward,[8] who regarded education as an ameliorative agency whose

[5] G. S. Herrington, "The Status of Educational Sociology Today," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* Vol. 21, 1947, p. 129.
[6] H. Lee, *Status of Educational Sociology,* New York: New York University Press Bookstore, 1927.
[7] C. B. Moore, "Aims of Educational Sociology," *Education,* Vol. 45, pp. 159–170.
[8] L. F. Ward, "Education as the Proximate Means of Progress," *Dynamic Sociology,* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, new ed., 1924, Vol. 2, Chap. 14.

main function was the improvement of society. Ward's emphasis on education as the means to social progress is also seen in the works of Good, Ellwood, and Kinneman.[9] These men expressed the idea that the school could succeed in teaching people to exercise social control in such an intelligent fashion that culture would progress to the highest level possible.

Educational sociology as a basis for deciding the objectives of education.   A second concept of educational sociology is evident in the contributions of those sociologists concerned with social determination of the aims or objectives of education. Finney, Snedden, Peters, Clements, and Kinneman,[10] all in varying degrees, thought of educational sociology as the objective analysis of the aims or purposes of education. In this sense they were attempting to arrive at a social philosophy of education based on an analysis of society and of human needs.

Educational sociology as an applied sociology.   A number of students in the field have defined educational sociology as the application of sociology to educational problems. Most of the men mentioned in the previous paragraph discussed the application of sociology to curriculum development. Many persons who gave this catchall definition of educational sociology also discussed specific problems. Among these were Smith, Zorbaugh, and Kulp.[11]

Leslie Zeleny,[12] in addition to emphasizing the idea of a sociological curriculum, took the position that ". . . educational sociology cannot be a pure science; it must be applied to the control of education." Viewed in this light, educational sociology is strictly tech-

[9] Alvin Good, "Sociology and Education," *Harpers,* Vol. 26, 1926, p. 25; C. A. Ellwood, "What Is Educational Sociology?" *Journal of Educational Sociology,* Vol. 1, 1927, pp. 25–30; and John A. Kinneman, *Society and Education,* New York: Macmillan, 1932, p. 49.

[10] Ross L. Finney, "Divergent Views of Educational Sociology," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* Vol. 1, 1927, p. 100; David Snedden, *Sociology for Teachers,* New York: Century, 1924, p. 33; C. C. Peters, *Foundation of Sociology,* New York: Macmillan, 1935; S. C. Clement, "Educational Sociology in Normal Schools and Teachers Colleges," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* Vol. 1, 1927, p. 33; and Kinneman, *op. cit.,* p. 48.

[11] W. R. Smith, *Principles of Educational Sociology,* Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1928, p. 6; Harvey Zorbaugh, "Research in Educational Sociology," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* Vol. 1, 1927, pp. 18–19; and Kulp, *op. cit.,* p. 71.

[12] Leslie Zeleny, "The Sociological Curriculum," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* Vol. 13, 1940, pp. 453–461, and "New Directions in Educational Sociology and the Teaching of Sociology," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 13, 1948, pp. 336–341.

nology and not a science at all.   And Francis Brown encompassed the whole area of applications of sociology to education when he said, "The educational sociologist utilizes all that has been learned in both fields, but joins them in a new science by applying sociological principles to the whole process of education." [13]

Educational sociology as an analysis of the socializing process. Prior to the more recent emphasis by sociologists and social psychologists on the development of personality, some educational sociologists viewed the entire process of socializing a child as the area of interest.   In other words, they concerned themselves with the ways in which the social group affected the individual.   Important in this group were Ellwood, Smith, and more recently, Brown.[14]   In Brown's book we find a statement that "educational sociology is interested in the impact of the total cultural milieu in which and through which experience is acquired and organized. . . .   Educational sociology is particularly interested in finding out how to manipulate the educational process to achieve better personality development."

Florence G. Robbins' book is also devoted almost exclusively to this type of analysis.   Her chief emphasis is upon the study of personality development in the family, the school, and the larger community.[15]

Educational sociology as training for educational workers.   The point of view expressed by Brown and Robbins is similar to that expressed by Payne [16] when he stated, "By educational sociology we mean the science which describes and explains . . . the social relationships in which or through which the individual gains and organizes his experience."   He also indicated that "educational sociology is interested in social behavior and the principles of its control."   Payne looked upon educational sociology as a comprehensive study of all aspects of education from a technological or

[13] Francis Brown, *Educational Sociology*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1947, pp. 35–36.
[14] C. A. Ellwood, *op. cit.,* pp. 25–30; W. R. Smith, *op. cit.,* pp. 6 ff.; and Francis Brown, *op. cit.,* pp. 35–36.
[15] Florence G. Robbins, *Educational Sociology,* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1953.
[16] E. G. Payne, *Principles of Educational Sociology,* an Outline, New York: New York University Press, 1928, p. 20.

applied science point of view. When this is examined in the light of New York University's extensive sociology offerings in the School of Education, we recognize that, for Payne, educational sociology included not only anything in the field of sociology which could be related to the learning or socializing process, but also anything in education that was subject to sociological analysis. This all-inclusive view plus the opportunity of developing a separate department at New York University led to a varied and multiple concept of educational sociology. Primary emphasis throughout the book, however, is on the need to provide teachers, research workers, and others interested in education with an adequate and effective training in sociology and its contributions to an understanding of education.

In this sense the work being done at Ohio State University is similar to that at New York University. A staff of sociologists provides several courses in sociology for teacher trainees at this institution. It is understood that prospective teachers take educational sociology along with the general introductory course as the requirement in sociology. The emphasis at this institution is upon the understanding of the community and the total social scene in which the child is socialized. The nature of this work is indicated by Cook and Greenhoe.[17]

In both of the institutions mentioned, and perhaps in many others, educational sociology rather than other sociology courses are offered to teacher trainees. In many other institutions the teacher trainees receive similar contact with sociology, but they do so through the regular courses offered other students. Many books written as educational sociology texts reflect the desire to provide a survey of sociology as a general background for teachers.

The outline of trends in educational sociology made by Zeleny [18] in 1948 suggests a new departure in teacher training. He emphasized the contribution which sociologists, trained in sociodrama and other role-taking procedures, could make to the techniques of teaching. He also emphasized the contribution which sociologists could make in improving other techniques of classroom instruction.

[17] Lloyd Allen Cook, *Community Backgrounds of Education,* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938, p. 19. Also L. A. and E. F. Cook, *A Sociological Approach to Education,* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950, pp. 9–10, 19–20; and Florence Greenhoe, "Community Sociology and Teacher Training," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* Vol. 13, 1940, pp. 463–470.

[18] Zeleny, "New Directions," *op. cit.*

Educational sociology as an analysis of the place of education in society.   A more recent development in the field of educational sociology, one quite different from the earlier orientations, is the analysis of the place of education in the community and in society generally.   In his book, *Community Backgrounds of Education,* Cook placed some emphasis upon the function of educational institutions in the community and analyzed the social relationship between the school and other aspects of the community.   Many rural sociologists have delineated rural communities and neighborhoods in relation to high-school and elementary-school attendance.   Somewhat different, but classifiable in the same general category, is the analysis of the function of the school in the status structure of the local community.   Here the works of Warner, Hollingshead, and Stendler [19] are significant.   The emphasis in all these studies is on the analysis of the community and society with particular reference to the function of education.   For this reason, it is hardly appropriate to call this research a phase of educational sociology conceived as applied sociology.

Educational sociology as an analysis of social interactions within the school and between the school and the community.   Closely related to the above has been an attempt to analyze the patterns of social interaction and social roles within the school society and the relation of personalities within the school to outside groups.   The work of Waller [20] was the first major attempt to analyze the role of teachers both in relation to their students and to the communities in which they teach.   Greenhoe's [21] study of community contacts and participation of a nation-wide sample of school teachers is also significant.   In this same general area are the analyses by Znaniecki and Wilson [22] of the roles of teachers in higher education.   Warren [23] also made a study of teachers in his analysis of social roles.   So,

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[19] W. L. Warner, R. J. Havighurst, and M. B. Loeb, *Who Shall Be Educated?* New York: Harper & Bros., 1944; A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth,* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949; Celia B. Stendler, *Children of Brasstown,* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949.

[20] Willard Waller, *Sociology of Teaching,* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1932.

[21] Florence Greenhoe, *Community Contacts and Participation of Teachers,* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941.

[22] Florian Znaniecki, *Social Roles of the Man of Knowledge,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1940; and Logan Wilson, *Academic Man,* London: Oxford University Press, 1942.

[23] Ronald Warren, Department of Sociology, Alfred University, N.Y., unpublished manuscript on social roles.

too, studies of clique structure, leadership, and rejection have contributed to our understanding of the social groups within the school. Major contributions in this field have been made by Cook and Smucker.[24]   Here again it is scarcely accurate to list this approach as educational sociology if that rubric is to cover the variety of other work such as has been described above.

Summary of approaches to educational sociology.   This range of differences among persons who call themselves educational sociologists has been apparent throughout the existence of the concept. This fact was recognized by Lee in his 1926 study.[25]   The practice of classifying anything that anyone might want to include in a course for teachers under the terms educational sociology may be a factor in the decline of emphasis upon that type of course.   Competent sociologists could not continue to respect such a hodgepodge of content.   This becomes particularly evident when the emphases are on value judgments, educational technology, and other materials foreign to the scientific analysis of social interaction.

The apparent decline in interest in educational sociology among sociologists is not, however, an indication that sociology is no longer considered an important part of the training for prospective teachers.   Although no evidence is immediately available to illustrate trends, there is some indication that teacher-training institutions are offering many more sociology courses than they previously did.   Landis [26] found 1,022 sociology courses listed in the catalogues of 162 teachers colleges.   Perhaps directors of teacher-training programs now feel that teachers can get better training in sociology from other sociology courses than from those specifically designated educational sociology.   This may account in part for the decline in the number of courses of the latter type.

The more recent interest of sociologists in the analysis of the

[24] L. A. Cook, "An Experimental Sociographic Study of a Stratified 10th Grade Class," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 10, 1945, pp. 250–261; O. C. Smucker, "The Campus Clique As an Agency of Socialization," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* Vol. 21, 1947, pp. 163–169; and "Prestige Status Stratification on a College Campus," *Journal of Applied Anthropology,* Vol. 6, 1947, pp. 20–27.
[25] Harvey Lee, "The Status of Educational Sociology in Normal Schools, Teachers Colleges, and Universities," New York University Press Bookstore; Summary in E. G. Payne's *Readings in Educational Sociology,* Vol. 1, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1932, pp. 2–8.
[26] Judson T. Landis, "The Sociology Curriculum and Teacher Training," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 12, 1947, pp. 113–116.

educational system as a pattern of social interaction and in its relation to other social systems suggests a new and different role for sociology in relation to education.

SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION: SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS OF THE HUMAN RELATIONS IN EDUCATION

The foregoing survey of various approaches to educational sociology may lead some students to the conclusion that there is no place for a sociological analysis of education. On the contrary, we firmly believe that there is such a place. Moreover, we believe it is one of the important tasks for the sociologist; sociology is scientifically equipped to make a major contribution to the educational system in our society.

The importance of the educational process and the increasing time devoted to the formal school portion of this process make it imperative that the sociologist turn his attention and abilities to the analysis of this unit of society. It is doubtful if those who wish to apply sociological principles and information to school administration can make rapid progress until they understand the nature of the human relations within the school and the community structure within which the schools operate. Just as sociologists have turned their attention to the analysis of human relations in the family, industry, religion, politics, the community, or in any other system of social relations, so it is appropriate for those trained in this field to determine the patterns of interaction in the educational system.

Calling this field the sociology of education is not new. Years ago Robert C. Angell [27] took the position that an educational sociologist should be simply a sociologist who specializes in research on the educational process. In line with this, he maintained that "educational sociology is . . . merely a branch of the pure science of sociology." He preferred to call this area of the discipline *sociology of education,* because he considered the school a source of data which could be analyzed. For him, the traditional concept of educational sociology implied that the school was an object of social action. Angell further pointed out that an applied science of educational sociology is impossible. The application of sociol-

[27] Robert Cooley Angell, "Science, Sociology, and Education," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* Vol. 1, 1928, pp. 406–413.

ogy alone to the educational process does not supply all that is necessary to administer and to determine the policy of educational systems.   The school administrator faced with the necessity of organizing and directing an educational system must draw upon the information provided by psychology, political science, economics, and many other disciplines.   For this reason, as Angell pointed out, the problems of school administration involve a broad technology.

A similar delineation of the field was later made by E. B. Reuter,[28] who wrote that "the interests of the educational sociologist differ from those of the general sociologist only in the fact that he works with a specially selected set of materials. . . .   He is interested in understanding education's forms, functions and developments in diverse situations, in understanding the behavior and ideologies of school men, in discovering the effects of school on existing institutions and its influence on personality."   Reuter further recognized the fact that his definition of educational sociology eliminated much which had been identified by that name: "Educational sociologists have, for the most part, been concerned with other than sociological material. . . .   Even that labeled sociological commonly deals with social, practical, and moral topics or with questions of educational objectives and curricular content rather than with sociological problems."

Unfortunately, neither Angell nor Reuter followed up this delineation of the sociology of education with an extensive analysis in the field.   There is a rapidly growing body of research data which makes possible a rather extensive and significant sociological analysis of the educational system in American society.

In summarizing the reflections on the earlier contributions to the so-called field of educational sociology and the more carefully defined concepts which we prefer to call *sociology of education,* we note some criteria, both negative and positive, for delineating the latter field.   First, it will *not* include all of sociology simply because sociology is good training for teachers.   If the latter is true, then teachers should be trained in sociology.   Having prospective teachers studying courses in sociology does not make sociology a science of educational sociology.   Second, sociology of education is *not* a technology of education.   Certainly it is hoped that the educational

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[28] E. B. Reuter, "The Problem of Educational Sociology," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* Vol. 9, 1935, pp. 15–22.   Reprinted by permission.

administrator knows sociology and uses it in his work.   It is also hoped that he knows more than sociology and that he is not primarily a research worker dealing with the social relations within the school.

Third, on the positive side, the sociology of education *is* the scientific analysis of the social processes and social patterns involved in the educational system.   This assumes that education is a combination of social acts and that sociology is the analysis of human interaction.   Such analysis of the human interaction in education may include both the formal education occurring in social groups such as the school and the multitude of informal communication processes which serve educational functions.   It is also assumed that such an analysis leads to development of scientific generalizations about human relations in the educational system.   Finally, any adequate sociology of education must present hypotheses concerning such human relations which will provide the body of theory to be tested in research.

Present research and analysis of the educational system make possible a tentative outline of a sociology of education.   Some sections have been the subject of such limited investigation that little can be said about them.   In areas where evidence is available, pertinent materials are included in the following chapters.   Personal interest and experience limit the outline to the areas of analysis now recognized in the formal aspects of the educational system which we call the school.

Relationship of the educational system to other aspects of society. There is considerable evidence upon which certain theories concerning the relation of the educational system to other aspects of society can be developed.   This category of the sociology of education includes several subdivisions, among which are (1) the function of education in the culture; (2) the relationship of the educational system to the process of social control and the power system; (3) the function of the educational system in the processes of social and cultural change or in the maintenance of the *status quo;* (4) the relationship of education to the social class or status system; and (5) the functioning of the formal educational system in the relationships among racial, cultural, and other groups.   There is no attempt to make an inclusive outline of all possible topics in the

area, but to indicate those in which some analyses have been made. Some attention is devoted to each of these in the following chapters. In two of the areas, social class and intergroup relations, some research has been done; in the other, the analysis is based largely on observation.

Human relations within the school.   The second area of the sociology of education is the analysis of the social structure within the school.   Cultural patterns within the school system are somewhat different from other aspects of society, but much remains to be done to describe and to analyze the nature of this school culture. Studies of the patterns of interaction among persons in the school situation suggest at least two general types of sociological analysis to be included in this area.   These are: (1) the nature of the school culture, particularly as it differs from the culture outside the school; and (2) the patterns of social interaction or the structure of the school society.   The latter includes definitions of the various social positions in the school, and the relationship between actors in these positions, leadership and power relations, social stratification, and the informal patterns of interaction as seen in school cliques and congeniality groups.

Impact of the school on the behavior and personality of its participants.   The next major division of the sociology of education is a social psychology of the educational process.   In this we analyze the personality or behavior that results from the participation of teachers, pupils, and others in the total educational system.   Psychologists and educationists have devoted considerable research and theorizing to the problem of the impact of the school on the pupils.   Sociologists and social psychologists can also make contributions by noting the social significance of the roles the child plays in relation to teachers and other pupils in the school society. Just as human relations in the school have the effect of defining the roles and behavior of the children, so, too, they define the roles and behavior of teachers.   Thus the development of teacher personality is a significant aspect of an over-all sociology of education.

Some subjects of analyses in this area are (1) the social roles of the teacher, (2) the nature of the teacher's personality, (3) the impact of the teacher's personality on the behavior of the students, and (4) the function of the school in the socialization of children.

The school in the community.   A fourth topic is the analysis of the patterns of interaction between the school and other social groups in the immediate community.   Here one might include (1) the delineation of the community as it affects school organization, (2) analysis of the educational process as it occurs in the nonschool social systems of the community, (3) the relationship between the school and community in the educational function, and (4) demographic and ecological factors of the community in relation to the school organization.   These are essential for an understanding of the community educational system and its integration in the total life of the community.

Others would no doubt subdivide the sociology of education into other segments, but, in terms of the criteria indicated earlier, these are the more significant areas in which some analyses have been made.   There are varying degrees of research findings to support hypotheses and tentative theories in these segments.   Yet, a tremendous amount of research is still necessary before there will be an adequate sociology of education.

SUMMARY

A review of the contributions to the field traditionally known as educational sociology indicates a wide variety of subject matter and concepts.   It further shows that there has been an apparent decrease of interest in traditional educational sociology.   This decline has been associated, however, with an increasing emphasis upon sociological analysis as the means of understanding schools and the educational processes.   This suggests the necessity for a comprehensive analysis of the human relations in the educational system and of those between the educational system and other aspects of society.   These, with the impact of such human relations on the behavior of individuals, are areas for research and analysis to be pursued in the sociology of education.   The growing body of research and increasing interest make advisable a distinction between this new field and the earlier application of sociology to education.

Questions for Discussion

1. What objections might there be to the definition of educational sociology as "objective analysis of the aims or purposes of education"?

2. Why is it important to teachers to consider the relationships be-
   tween schools and the community?
3. How do the organization and content of this book differ from
   those of one or more books mentioned in the suggestions for fur-
   ther reading?
4. What contribution to the field of sociology and to educational
   policy making can be made from each book?

Suggestions for Further Reading

Cook, Lloyd A. and Elaine, *A Sociological Approach to Education,*
New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950.

Herrington, G. S., "The Status of Educational Sociology Today,"
Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol. 21, Nov., 1947.

Moore, Clyde B. and Cole, William E., *Sociology in Educational
Practice,* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1952.

Robbins, Florence G., *Educational Sociology,* New York: Henry
Holt & Co., 1953.

Waller, Willard, *Sociology of Teaching,* New York: John Wiley &
Sons, Inc., 1932.

PART II

Education and the
Social Order

3. Education in American Culture

IN OUR COUNTRY ALMOST EVERYONE BELIEVES the solution to any or all social questions is more education. The American people for the most part believe that progress is inevitable; that their culture will be preserved unchanged; that social problems will be solved; that higher social status will be attained; that democracy will function adequately; that the fit shall lead; that freedom will survive; in short, that anything aspired to will be accomplished.

This American faith in education is a dominant trait, the ethos, which provides "a kind of over-all grand formula by which we hope to perpetuate and perfect our culture." [1] In spite of, or because of this, we take education for granted and assume it to be an integral aspect of American culture. Yet there has been little analysis of the function of education in our culture.

THE AMERICAN PATTERN OF EDUCATION

In the United States *education* usually refers to the formalized patterns defined in Chapter 1; more specifically, to the education which occurs in schools — elementary, secondary, technical schools, colleges, and universities. However, the common interactive processes through which the child becomes a part of the society are rarely described as education. George H. Mead more than forty years ago described this division by pointing out that "the business of storing the mind with ideas . . . has been assigned to the school.

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[1] Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture,* New York: Thomas Crowell Company, 1923, p. 10.

The task of organizing and socializing the self to which these *ideas* belong is left to the home, to the playground, the streets, and society in general." [2]

This emphasis on formal mental training has been characteristic of American education. Under this system the mind of the child is something to be developed by the presentation of ideas, old or new, which those in power consider necessary and acceptable for the maintenance of society. So conceived, it is convenient for the people in positions of power to delegate this educational function to a particular group of subordinates.

The American schools have their setting in this frame of reference. The teacher is the liaison official between the sources of social control and the children who are to be initiated into the culture. In Western society most schools are based on a highly formal pattern of relations between the teachers and pupils, on the one hand, and the teachers and the community, on the other. The system designed to produce the desired results in the pupils' thinking has become relatively stabilized in the *textbook-assignment-recitation* sequence. The teacher usually dominates the learning activity and attempts to control the response of the pupils in accordance with the wishes of those who control their behavior.

We might characterize this American pattern of education as the *forced-formal system,* in which society attempts to teach the children, under pressure, that which it believes they will find useful. As we noted in Chapter 1, this is in contrast to some primitive societies where the child learns only that which is necessary as the convenient situation presents itself. [3]

Traditional American education is based primarily on the doubtful theory that the mind is a storehouse of ideas where new and acceptable thoughts can be introduced in a regulated situation. The effectiveness of this forced-formal educational system in transmitting or changing the culture is not clearly understood. There is always the danger that the material taught will cease to have a realistic function in the student's society. Unless the material used in the educational system does have such a function, youth are likely to have little interest in it. In the absence of such interest, the

[2] George H. Mead, "Psychology of Social Consciousness Implied in Instruction," *Science,* Vol. 31, pp. 689–690. Italics mine.
[3] See Margaret Mead, "Our Educational Emphasis in Primitive Perspective," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 48, 1943, pp. 633–639.

teacher will need to use force if the children are to accept any of the ideas for mental storage.

Since education is set apart as a special function in our society, it has only a limited role in the transmission or change of the total culture. The main streams of this process are the general experiences of the child in association with the family, playmates, and other primary groups rather than the formalized school program. Mekeel points out that for American Indians, education in Indian Service boarding-schools only interrupts for a time the main stream of their education in the native group.[4] (See page 126.) In somewhat the same way, unless it is integrated and functional in the culture, our formal schooling interrupts for only a few hours a day, during a part of the year, the main stream of cultural conditioning. This does not mean that experiences in the school situation have no impact on the behavior of the child, but as Mekeel says, "Without questioning the potent force of education it can be stated that insofar as producing or maintaining a culture is concerned, it is only one such force. Formal education cannot be expected to carry the burden of cultural transmission or change."[5]

The implication of this limitation on the solution of recognized social problems is discussed in later chapters. However, the significance of the specialized educational agency in a society depends on the extent to which it is integrated in the culture which the children learn in other areas of social interaction. It is possible that the informal interactions occurring in the school situations are more significant in the cultural training of the child than the formal program planned for the purpose.

THE AMERICAN FAITH IN EDUCATION

In spite of the limitations of our characteristic forced-formal educational system, we have come to look upon it as a distinctive feature of American society. Numerous social scientists have described it as a dominant cultural trait. We have a tremendous faith in the goodness of education. Interference with the child's opportunity to attend school and to acquire the benefits, vague as they may be, that accrue from such attendance is generally frowned

[4] H. Scudder Mekeel, "Education, Child Training and Culture," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 48, May 1943, pp. 676–681.
[5] *Ibid.*

upon.   In fact it is a criminal offense in the United States to keep children out of school if they are under a certain age ranging from fourteen to sixteen.   It is important to understand the underlying belief that some of this education is good for nearly every child, even those assumed to have limited learning abilities.   Such children may not learn much of the standard curriculum to which they are exposed, but some vague benefit to the individual or society is anticipated.

Limitations of the faith in education.   Most persons who are critical of the particular training received in the school reject entirely any idea of withdrawing their children from such schools. In certain situations there may be limits to the amount of school attendance that is advantageous, but in almost every case, some schooling is desirable and in most situations the more education one has the better.   This is illustrated by the views of the personnel director of a large business whom I chanced to engage in conversation.   As soon as he learned I was an educator, he launched into a diatribe against the type of training young men were receiving in American high schools and colleges.   He explained that his company had instituted a training program whose main function was to counteract the learning the new employees had acquired in school. It was suggested that perhaps it would be better for his company to employ those who had not had extensive formal education.   The personnel man was horrified at this suggestion.   "Of course we can use only college graduates in these jobs."   If this were the case, why did the company have to retrain its men?   For this he had no answer.   Their employees must have the educational symbol of high school and college, although what they got there was reportedly of no merit in the work for which they were employed.

   This cliché was investigated in a nation-wide public opinion poll when business and professional men in a representative sample were asked, "Do you think the following statement is more true than false, or more false than true: 'A boy or girl fresh out of college is not much use to an employer until he has unlearned a lot of things the professors taught him'?" [6]   Slightly more than half of

[6] Elmo Roper, "Higher Education; The *Fortune* Survey," *Supplement to Fortune,* Sept. 1949, pp. 5–6.   Excerpts from this survey, and the tables on pages 47 and 48 are reprinted by special permission of the editors from the September 1949 *Fortune* "Survey of Public Opinion."

the business and professional men thought this was more false than true, while less than one-third thought it more true than false.   The remainder had no opinion on the subject.   Although a sizeable proportion accepted the idea that a college education has no practical value, the majority of the business and professional men rejected the belief.

This criticism of the training received in the educational system may be related to the American image of the educator.   On the higher educational level particularly, and to some extent on the elementary and secondary level, the teacher is seen in the image of the impractical visionary who could not meet the competition of the less protected world of affairs.[7]   In this image the teacher is the object of many jokes and comments which border on ridicule.   This is the base of numerous derogatory remarks concerning the "brain truster" college professors who may be engaged as consultants or officials in government.   Highly educated persons and particularly those who have been college professors are frequently "suspect" in nonacademic positions.   Persons with Doctor of Philosophy degrees frequently report that they studiously try to avoid being identified as "Doctor," since they learned that such identification results in unfavorable comment among their colleagues.

Elmo Roper in the *Fortune* survey [8] noted above asked his sample if they thought it more true than false that "Most college professors are not practical enough to run a business successfully." Only a little more than one-third of the total sample thought this was true, but more than half of the business executives and other professional people agreed with the statement.   The image of elementary- and high-school teachers is less of the visionary and more of the inept person who cannot do anything but teach or, at best, do related types of work.   This somewhat unfavorable image of teachers generally does not preclude the possibility of consulting them for expert knowledge.   They may be of assistance in many situations related to their special qualifications.   In fact this common practice no doubt contributes to the relatively high prestige which the educator has in spite of the popular image of the visionary.

The image of the educator which we have just examined may be a current manifestation of an earlier belief that too much "book

[7] See Chapter 9 for a more complete discussion of teacher roles in the community.
[8] *Supplement to Fortune,* Sept. 1949, *op. cit.,* p. 12.

learning" was impractical.   In Colonial and pioneer America, where the labor of the youth was a decided asset, "schooling" beyond the acquisition of some facility in reading, writing, and simple arithmetic was generally considered a waste of time.   The real education in the essentials of making a living and understanding their environment was acquired in the work of the farm, household, or shop.   More advanced formal education was desirable for the few who entered law, medicine, or the ministry, but not for the masses of farmers and artisans.

Occasionally such ideas are expressed even today.   They are found most frequently in isolated communities, but they may be encountered occasionally in other segments of our society.   In general this is contrary to the predominant cultural trait in respect to school attendance.   The education of the masses, which was cited by Thomas Jefferson as an essential for democratic government, has constantly been extended to more and more people and for increasingly longer periods of time.   Acceptance of this idea is demonstrated by the fact that 83 per cent of the parents interviewed in the *Fortune* Survey wanted their sons to go to college and 69 per cent desired the same thing for their daughters.[9]   This is evidence of the great faith which Americans have in the extended formal education of the masses.

The growth of mass education.   In the last seventy-five years the American educational system has been the scene of a phenomenal cultural development.   The American pattern of education has changed from one in which some children attended elementary schools more or less regularly for a relatively small number of days each year to a system in which nearly all children between the ages of five and seventeen attend a formal school for 160 days, or more, each year on a compulsory basis.   This trend is shown graphically in Figure 1.

The percentage of the population five to seventeen years of age enrolled in schools has steadily increased from 57 per cent in 1870 to 88.7 per cent in 1950.   This change is more significant when we note that the average daily attendance in 1870 amounted to only 59 per cent of those enrolled.   This percentage has increased at approximately the same rate as the percentage of youth enrolled

[9] *Supplement to Fortune, op. cit.,* **p. 5.**

in school.   By 1940 the average daily attendance was 87 per cent of the number enrolled.   Not only has the percentage enrolled in schools and the percentage of enrollees in attendance increased rapidly, but also the number of days in the average school year has shown a similar trend.   The average number of days attended by those enrolled during the school term in 1870 was under eighty (less than four traditional school months of twenty days), while in 1940 it was more than 150.
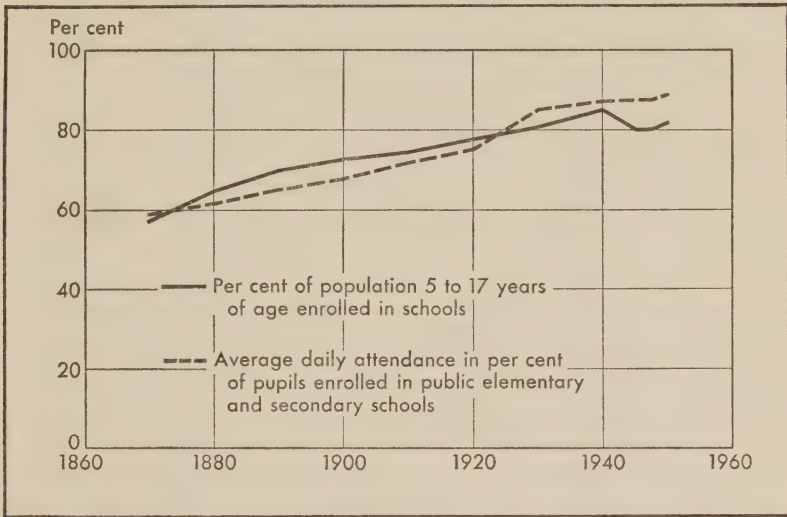
FIGURE 1.   **Average daily attendance in percentage of pupils enrolled and percentage of population 5 to 17 years of age enrolled in school in the United States, 1870–1950.**   (From the *Biennial Survey of Education, 1948–1950*, Washington, D.C.:   Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.)

Much of the increase in school enrollment among the five- to seventeen-year age group is due to the increase in the number of youth who remain in school longer than the previously accepted six or eight school years.   The trend is shown in Figure 2, where the number of high-school graduates per hundred persons seventeen years of age is plotted.   In an eighty year span the number has increased steadily from two to more than fifty in 1948–50.   Although a large proportion of those who start to school do not continue through the year or until they complete the secondary school program, the number of high-school graduates per one hundred per-

sons presents a curve remarkably similar to the exponential curve.[10] In 1870 there were 16,000 high-school graduates; in 1950 there were one-and-a-fourth million. Not only are more children of the traditional school ages enrolling and attending more days each year, but also, graduation from high school has become the generally accepted level of educational achievement in America.
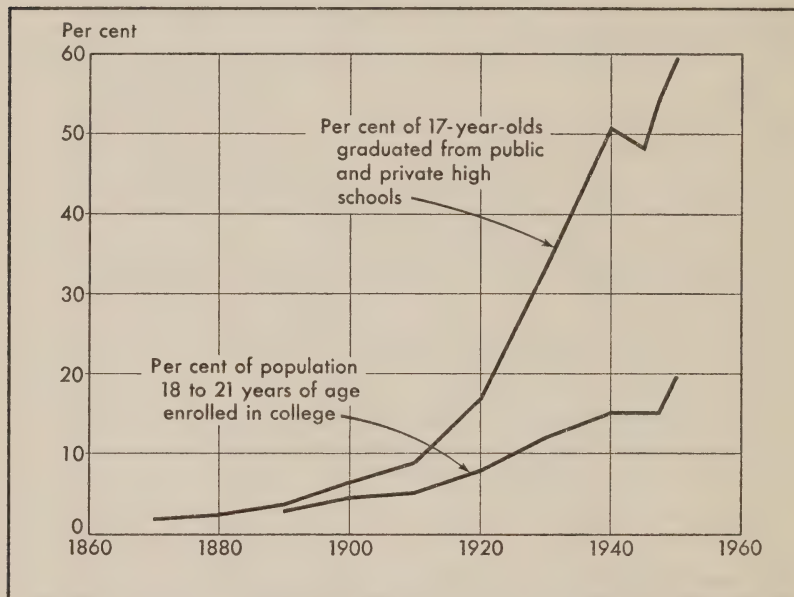
FIGURE 2.   **Percentage of 17-year-olds graduated from public and private high schools, and percentage of 18- to 21-year-olds enrolled in colleges in the United States, 1870–1950.** (From the *Biennial Survey of Education, 1948–1950*, Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.)

The development of mass education has not resulted in a reduction in cost as mass production in the industrial world is claimed to have done. The dollar cost, and to a lesser extent the real cost, of education have increased in a form somewhat similar to the percentage of youth enrolled in school.

The dollar cost per pupil enrolled increased nearly fifteenfold from 1870 to 1948; the cost per capita of the total population in-

[10] W. F. Ogburn and Meyer Nimkoff, *Sociology*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, rev. ed., 1946, pp. 791–793, for a discussion of the similarity of trends in growth of culture patterns to an exponential curve.

creased even more. It is difficult to learn the meaning of these
cost figures, but certainly the acceptance of mass education in
American culture was not brought about by showing a savings in
cost. Apparently Americans want the schools to give their chil-
dren an increasing amount of education and are willing, although
perhaps not too happy, to pay an increasingly large bill per person
for it. A public opinion poll in the mid-1940's of a representative
sample indicated that 54 per cent of the public believed that the
schools needed more money to do a good job, and that 58 per cent
believed that teachers were underpaid.[11] A majority thought greater
budgets were necessary to provide adequate schools. A somewhat
later survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion revealed
similar public responses. Forty-four per cent of a representative
sample of citizens thought the pay given teachers was too low;
only 2 per cent thought it too high; and a third thought it about
right.[12] These polls and the subsequent increases in school budg-
ets are evidence the public generally supports education.

Trends of education among the eighteen-to-twenty-one age
groups have been similar to those for the five-to-seventeen group.
Although there has been no compulsory education at these age
levels, the proportion attending college and the proportion being
graduated from high school have increased remarkably in the past
three quarters of a century (Figure 2). Since these figures repre-
sent an older group whose attendance is not compulsory, they may
be a better index of the voluntary acceptance of the education in
American culture than are the previously mentioned trends. Hor-
nell Hart's [13] use of the number of college graduates to illustrate
trends in culture changes might also be interpreted as evidence of
the wide acceptance of education.

The tremendous growth of mass education at all levels veri-
fies the previous observation: Americans have great faith in for-
mal education. It is good for children; it is good for veterans; it
is good for adults; it is good for almost anyone. What it is good
for is not always clear, but Americans approve of education. Eighty
per cent of the parents in a national sample in 1944 reported

[11] "The Public Looks at Education," *Report No. 21,* National Opinion Research
Center, University of Denver, 1944, pp. 5–11.
[12] George Gallup, "Public Favors Increased Pay for School Teachers," *Fort Wayne
Journal-Gazette,* Dec. 25, 1946, p. 20.
[13] Hornell Hart, "Logistic Social Trends," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 50,
1945, pp. 337–352.

that they were satisfied with what their children were getting from their education in school.[14] The basis for such a faith and the expected outcomes of such education are not clearly understood. Social scientists have devoted little attention to such an analysis. Certainly no sociology of education in America will be complete until the exact nature of this faith with its seeming contradictions is fully understood. In the following section, we suggest some of the more specific expectancies involved in this faith.

AMERICAN EXPECTATIONS CONCERNING EDUCATION [15]

If students in American schools at any level are asked what outcome they expect from their own attendance, any response even vaguely related to Jefferson's idea of making democracy feasible would be rare indeed. The same would be true if the parents of the students were asked why they desire education for their children. Yet, even though it is seldom verbalized, in the minds of many, particularly the intellectuals, there is an abstract association between the belief in mass education and the achievement of a democratic society. If we were concerned with the philosophy of education, we might dwell at some length on this aspect of education in American culture. However, we are concerned with the more realistic meaning of education as conceived by the masses. This is not to deny that the schools perform a major function in transmitting the ideals and sentiments of democracy. Neither is it intended to suggest that democratic society could function without citizens who possess some measure of the skills provided by the schools. We are simply saying that Americans are vague as to how education contributes to the development of democracy. But the fact that 14 per cent of parents in one poll said that citizenship training was the most important thing to get out of education reflects the popular opinion that this contribution is expected.[16]

Training for a vocation. Throughout our society perhaps the most salient expectation from education is preparation for a particular occupation or the acquisition of the skills necessary to

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[14] National Opinion Research Center, *op. cit.,* page 21.
[15] This section was reproduced in E. A. Schuler, D. L. Gibson, M. Fiero, and W. B. Brookover, *Outside Readings in Sociology,* New York: T. Y. Crowell Co., 1952.
[16] National Opinion Research Center, *op. cit.,* p. 14.

earn more money.   For several decades the argument most frequently used by educators and others in favor of more education has been that the higher the individual's level of education, the greater his earning power.   Associated with this have been constantly increased scholastic requirements for entrance into numerous occupations.   These and other influences have made the American people acutely aware of the association between schooling and vocational success.   Although this is true for elementary and secondary education to some extent, it is most strikingly seen in the expectation regarding attendance at college.   In the *Fortune* survey those people who would like to have their son or daughter go to college were asked, "Why would you like to have a son (daughter) of yours go to college?   What would you want him (her) to get out of it?"   As indicated in Table I, the majority responded with some form of "preparation for a better job, a trade or profession, greater earning power."   This desire is more frequently expressed for the sons than for the daughters, but still 48 per cent mentioned some type of vocational aspirations for their

T A B L E I.   **National poll responses indicating what parents would want their son or daughter to get out of a college education.**[17]

Response	Percentage* of responses for desired benefits	
	For son	*For daughter*
1. Preparation for a better job, a trade or profession, greater earning power	66	48
2. Better fitness to lead a full life, a broader view of the world	19	20
3. Knowledge, education	15	16
4. Social poise, adjustability, contacts	10	18
5. Culture, appreciation of the arts	2	4
6. Preparation for marriage, homemaking	—	9
7. All others	3	4
8. No opinion	7	7

* Some persons mentioned more than one item; hence total is more than 100 per cent.

[17] Elmo Roper, "Higher Education; The *Fortune* Survey," *Supplement to Fortune,* September 1949, p. 6.   Reprinted by special permission of the editors.

daughters.   In the same poll all parents were given a list of bene-
fits from which they selected the most important to be obtained in
college.   From this list 57 per cent mentioned "training for a par-
ticular occupation or profession" as important for their sons, while
33 per cent mentioned the same for their daughters.   However,
46 per cent mentioned marriage and family life as preparation

TABLE II.   **Responses of a national sample of adults to the ques-
tion: "Here is a list of things most people would like
their children to get sometime during their life, but
people don't always agree on which of the things they
think a college should do for their children.   Which
three things on the list would you think were most
important of all for college to give your son (daugh-
ter)?"** [18]

List of desired benefits from a college education	Percentage indicating parents' three most desired benefits from college for their children	
	For son	*For daughter*
1. Training for a particular occupation or profession	57	33
2. A sharper, better trained mind in dealing with all sorts of problems	41	32
3. A better chance to get ahead in the world	37	20
4. The intelligence and wisdom necessary to live a full life	33	36
5. Learning how to get along with all sorts of people	31	32
6. Desire and ability to be a more useful citizen	26	17
7. A broader knowledge of the world and world problems	23	16
8. Development of a good moral character	20	23
9. Preparation for marriage and family life	10	46
10. A better appreciation of such things as literature, art, and music	7	26
No opinion	4	5

[18] Elmo Roper, "Higher Education, The *Fortune* Survey," *Supplement to Fortune,*
September 1949, pp. 6–7.   Reprinted by special permission of the editors.

for daughters, which for them is similar to vocational training for boys (see Table II).

The same desire for vocational training on the lower levels of education is expressed by a substantial proportion of parents. This is indicated in Figure 3, which is drawn from an earlier poll of public opinion.   The results indicate that the desire for occupational training is certainly more salient when the higher levels

Training in

regular subjects	34
character education	34
vocational training	26
citizenship training	14
social adjustment	11
not specific	7
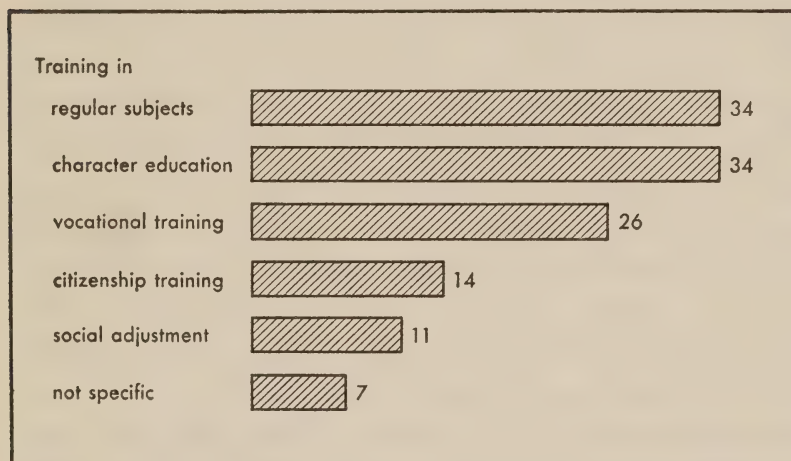
FIGURE 3.   **Percentage of responses to question, "What is the most important benefit children should get from their education?"**   (From the National Opinion Research Center, *op. cit.*, p. 14.   Reprinted by permission.   Some respondents named more than one item as most important.)

of education are considered.   It should be readily recognized that much of the desire for training in reading and writing is associated with earning a living.   This is indicated by the comment of a street cleaner's wife who responded to the inquiry concerning the most important benefit for children to obtain from an education with the comment, "To learn all they can.   Now me, I can't read or write, but if I could, I could make some money." [19]

Acquisition of basic skills.   The polls clearly show that parents expect their children to acquire certain skills traditionally taught in the schools.   The fact that only 34 per cent mentioned the "regular subjects" as the most important things to learn does not

[19] National Opinion Research Center, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

mean that the others did not expect these to be included; it indicates merely that these people did not give them priority. Actually there is probably no one who does not expect the school to teach the children to read, to write, to acquire some skill in mathematics, to gain some knowledge of history and to learn something of the other traditional school subjects. The controversy which periodically breaks out in American communities over this issue is in reality a question of techniques and procedures for teaching these skills rather than a difference of opinion concerning their place in the curriculum. This function of the schools is so clearly established in American culture that practically everyone takes it for granted. Many do not mention this function as an expected outcome because to them it is synonymous with education itself.

The classification "regular subjects" in Figure 3 is not a rigid one, and some respondents may have included such subjects as geography, foreign languages, government, health, and other courses under this category. The expectancies with regard to any of these are not clearly defined and may vary considerably from community to community. At the secondary and higher educational levels these subjects may be fused with the expectation of vocational and related training. At the elementary level, however, the teaching of the so-called basic skills is clearly expected and the teacher dares not deviate far from the cultural norms in this respect.

Transmission of accepted cultural values.   Although the transmission of accepted cultural values does not have the highest level of saliency as an expected outcome of education, the school is expected to transmit to the youth the accepted values and behavior norms of the community. The low degree of saliency is no doubt a reflection of the fact that the typical American would never entertain the possibility that the "right" way to think and act might not be taught. Certainly any teacher who would appear to be teaching something that was not right as defined by the generally accepted norms would not be considered a good influence on the children. Cases of dismissed teachers provide ample evidence that they are expected to teach the values of the culture. Although the category of "character education" in Figure 3 includes a variety of factors such as "good intellectual habits," and "learning to live," a portion of the respondents whose comments are included in the 34 per cent

had in mind the transmission of values.   This is indicated by such comments as: "Train them to become good men and women.   Bring out their best character," and "A sense of high moral values . . . ," and still another "Develop high ideals and learn to live by them." [20] A similar expectation is probably intended by the 20 per cent of parents who would want their son or daughter to "develop a good moral character" in college (Table II).

Such poll results are not entirely valid evidence of an expectation that the accepted values will be transmitted.   Yet they do suggest the belief that "products" of the schools should not depart from the accepted codes of conduct.   It would require much more careful research to learn the exact degree to which deviation from the norms might be taught.   As we shall see in the following chapter, we need a thorough analysis of this matter.   In the absence of evidence to the contrary, present observations indicate that Americans expect the moral codes and values of the community to pervade the activities of the school.

Development of socially-adjusted persons.   In recent decades the philosophy of education expressed in the writings of John Dewey and others, and the concepts of modern psychology, sociology, and social psychology have permeated American culture to the point that some people now expect the schools to contribute to the adjustment of the youth.   Along with the numerous other types of training which they expect, many parents want the child to learn to "get along with other people," and otherwise develop an acceptable personality.   In both the polls to which we have referred, approximately one in seven parents mentioned this as the most important thing to achieve (see Table I and Figure 3).   Many others would no doubt include this in the list of benefits they want for their children.   When given the opportunity to select three things to get in college, approximately one out of three parents listed this goal.

Some people, however, consider this training outside the function of the schools — something that should be obtained at home or in other situations.   Perhaps they feel that when the school emphasizes the social adjustment of the child, it does so at the expense

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[20] National Opinion Research Center, *op. cit.,* p. 17.

of teaching basic skills — vocational or other — which to them are more important.   Many communities have been involved in controversies over this issue.   Generally the differences are based on the assumption of some that the school which seeks to develop well-adjusted personalities cannot and does not wish to provide other training of a high level.   Others maintain that the best training in the basic skills occurs in an atmosphere which at the same time stimulates satisfying social relations.   Despite the lack of conclusive evidence on which to decide this issue, there are much data from the social sciences to support the latter position.   In Chapters 12 and 13 we examine more closely the role of the school in the socialization and adjustment of the child.

Opportunity for social mobility.   Innumerable American children have been admonished by their parents to continue in school because "I don't want you to have as hard a time as I have had."   Such comments mean that the parents want the child to move up in social status where life is presumably less arduous.   In the *Fortune* poll on higher education, Roper and his associates used the phrase "a better chance to get ahead in the world" to refer to this desire for upward mobility.   In this case 37 per cent of the parents mentioned this as one of the three benefits that they would want their sons to get from college, while 20 per cent mentioned it for their daughters (Table II).   It is significant to note that parents who have had only high-school or grade-school education mention "a better chance to get ahead in the world" more than twice as frequently for sons and three times as frequently for daughters as do the parents who are college graduates.[21]   This probably reflects the higher status of the latter parents who feel that the social position of their children is more secure.   From this position the parents are much more likely to desire for their children "a sharper, better trained mind in dealing with all sorts of problems," or "the intelligence and wisdom necessary to live a full life."   With these parents the need to rise in the social scale has been replaced by the need to maintain the family position.

The lower levels of education have less bearing on social mobility because the majority of children from all status groups at-

[21] *Supplement to Fortune, op. cit.,* pp. 6–7.

tend school through the elementary grades.   As the child advances through high school and college, the desire for upward mobility becomes an increasingly important motivation for the lower-status children and their parents.   Among families of higher status, higher educational attainment is taken for granted as a minimum essential for maintaining the family position.

High-school and college education are sometimes opposed by social groups which desire to maintain their integrity and social isolation.   The Amish, for example, recognize that such education for their children frequently results in movement out of the isolated Amish group.   Since this effect is contrary to their policy of cultural isolation, education beyond the elementary grades is strongly opposed by the members of this ethnic group.   There are other groups of this sort in the United States, but in terms of total population they account for only a small segment of society.

Still other groups are ambivalent in regard to education.   In many rural communities farm people wish to keep the boys and girls on the farm, but at the same time hope to have their children get ahead through education.   Out of this conflict of desires they may provide the opportunity for the youth to go to high school and college, only later to be disturbed when the educated son or daughter does not return to the rural community.   The decreasing opportunity for farm youth to find employment on the farms obviously complicates this situation.   One of the aims of agricultural extension educational programs such as the 4-H Clubs is to keep the youth interested in the farm as a life work; but as the participants advance in the agricultural training program, they come in contact with other groups and interests.   The latter contacts frequently lead them away from the farm.

Despite variations in subcultural groups, all expect higher levels of educational achievement to provide an avenue for upward social mobility.   This is an extremely significant aspect of the American educational culture.   The implications of this is the subject of discussion in Chapter 5.

Cure-all for social problems.   The faith that Americans have in mass education is often based on the assumption that education can solve all the problems of society.   This hope that education

will make a better world along with a complementary fear that it cannot do so was succinctly expressed by a garage mechanic to a newly elected school board member.

> It don't make much difference about me, but I want my kids to have the chance I missed.   I wouldn't want to live in a big city, except only so that my boy could get a free college education which he can't get here.   But what he learns in high school is good stuff. He can talk about things that I can't hardly understand.   I hear they want to cut down on the schools.   Don't let them do it.   The future for us is in our kids.   *Maybe the education they're getting won't straighten out everything in the world, but if they can think clear, that'll be a hell of a big part of the battle for something better than we've had the last few years.*[22]

Such an expression is more likely to come from the members of lower-status groups who feel less satisfied with the world as it is. The Lynds noted this in their study of Middletown.   They remark: "If education is oftentimes taken for granted by the business class, it is no exaggeration to say that it evokes the fervor of religion among a large section of the working class." [23]   This anticipation that education will solve all the problems of society is no doubt related to the expectation of increased mobility.   The latter expectation relates more particularly to the individual youth, while the former involves the hope for solution of such problems as depression and unemployment, intergroup conflict, crime and delinquency, poverty, and almost any other cause of discomfort or unhappiness.

Americans have an almost unlimited faith that education of the masses will somehow solve these problems.   In teaching courses in social problems over a period of several years, the writer has found that students without hesitation suggest that education is the solution to all of them.   The faith is so great that Americans occasionally become highly critical of the schools once they are disillusioned concerning the school's ability to solve some particular problem. Such disillusionment is inevitable since education at best has only a limited impact on the total social system.   Mekeel clearly stated the difficulty thus: "When we become acutely conscious of social and economic problems we begin to think of education as a *cure-*

[22] "America's Free Schools," *Democracy in Action, No. 5,* New York: Council for Education, p. 3.   Italics mine.
[23] Robert and Helen Merrill Lynd, *Middletown,* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1929, p. 187.

all. . . . We forget that education is only a segment of our entire culture. . . . Education, to be effective, must be geared to the actual structure before it can turn the wheels of change to advantage." [24]

Source of entertainment.   Nothing is more likely to arouse dissatisfaction among the residents of an American high-school community than the failure of the school to produce winning athletic teams or a successful competitive band if the neighboring schools participate in such activities.   For several decades such extra-classroom activities as competition in athletics, musical groups like bands, orchestras, and choruses, and speech and dramatic activities have assumed an important place in secondary and higher educational institutions.   They are no longer optional activities.   Instead the patrons expect the school to provide special coaches or directors of such activities who will produce highly successful performers in the several sports, in dramatics, or in musical organizations.   With regard to athletics in particular, whenever the patrons believe that the teams are not winning as consistently as might be expected, they are almost certain to demand a new coach or some other action to correct the failure.   To a lesser degree the same is true of the other activities mentioned.   In these, however, there is greater variation in the expectations from one community to another.

Although no adequate analysis of such activities has been made, the demand for winning teams and colorful bands is, in part at least, a matter of community pride and ethnocentrism.   Since more publicity is given to these activities and since they are more available for public display than other aspects of the school's program, they become symbolic of the quality of the school.   Students, patrons, and other citizens of the community take pride in the achievements of a successful team or band and use them as the yardstick in comparing their school with others.   Of course this is not true of all people, but for many the consistent production of winning teams and musical groups is sufficient evidence that the staff is providing a good educational program.   Others who are more interested in some other aspect of the school program may be highly critical of the expenditure of energy and money on such activities.

[24] Mekeel, *op. cit.,* page 677.

Although it has been contended that the time spent in the training and performance of competitive sports, musical contests, and similar activities is at the expense of "more important" educational functions, this need not be so. Schools that consistently present successful contenders may at the same time provide superior training in other areas. There appears to be no satisfactory evidence on which to base a conclusion concerning the relationship between successful teams, bands, or dramatics and the quality of the less observable educational programs.

Some educators believe that such extracurricular activities help school morale and interest so that improvement is evident in the entire school program. One experienced school administrator, who had worked for many years in schools with losing teams, adopted such an attitude after his school produced successful athletic teams. He had publicly expressed disapproval of the "overemphasis" on athletics, but after serving as the principal of the winning school he commented to the coach, "Although I don't like it and don't want anything to do with it directly, I'm convinced that good teams make a better school. The students are more interested and do better work in their studies." This change of attitude may have been a rationalization for accepting the inevitable demand for athletics. This theory of the influence of athletics is so widely accepted that it should be the subject of careful research.

In many small communities the desire for the school to provide the various public activities may be partially based on the need for some type of entertainment and recreation. In some places the school's plays, ball games, operettas, and other musical performances provide the main source of public entertainment. In such localities failure of the school to present a "senior play" or to sponsor a basketball team is a loss to community culture. Here the educational function of these activities is secondary to their function as community entertainment, but this does not lessen the demand that the school provide them. Rather, the demand is even more imperative.

SUMMARY

Americans expect a wide variety of different functions and services from their schools. These expectations are not always harmonious and easily met by the same system. Frequently, there-

fore, we find an undercurrent of dissatisfaction and criticism of the schools. It is unlikely that any school will ever provide the type of program desired by everyone in the community in which it functions. In spite of this we have noted that four out of every five persons interviewed in a nation-wide poll were satisfied with the education their children were receiving. For some of these, their response only meant that they were relatively satisfied, since 43 per cent of those interviewed suggested some kind of change.[25] The tremendous range of expectations, a portion of which we have discussed, and the relatively high degree of satisfaction with the way they are fulfilled, reflect the great faith which Americans have in formal education. It is almost a magical force which can do anything when the proper incantations are performed.

Questions for Discussion

1. In the forced-formal educational system, there is always the danger that the material taught will cease to have a realistic function in the student's society. Distinguish the functions of the student's society from those of society as a whole. What have they in common?
2. What would you say the college degree means to personnel departments requiring it as a prerequisite for certain positions?
3. How do you account for the disagreement between the view of "book learning" as impractical and the view of persons having "practical training" as unemployable in some higher positions?
4. What obstacles are there to acceptance of education as a cure-all for social problems?
5. What evidence can you cite from your own experience to support or disprove the assumption that Americans have great faith in formal education?

Suggestions for Further Reading

American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 48, May 1943 (entire issue devoted to education in society).

Edwards, Newton, and Richey, Herman G., *The Schools in the American Social Order,* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947.

Lynd, Robert and Helen M., *Middletown,* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1937, Chapter 13–16.

[25] National Opinion Research Center, *op. cit.,* pp. 21–23.

National Opinion Research Center, "The Public Looks at Education," *NORC Report 21,* Denver: University of Denver, 1944.

"Statistical Summary of Education, 1949–50," *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1948–50,* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Chapter 1.

Williams, Robin, *American Society,* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951, Chapter 8.

4. Social Control of Education and Social Change

THE AUTO MECHANIC WE QUOTED IN THE PREVIous chapter is typical of many Americans who have faith that education will provide "a big part of the battle for something better than we have had the last few years." Although the method of accomplishing something better is extremely vague, these people hope and believe that the education of the youth will somehow change the society into a "better" one. At the same time there operates in our society many forces which vigilantly demand that teachers abstain from discussing, let alone advocating, modification of any aspect of our culture that conservative interests do not desire changed. This is the dilemma of education.

Educators and social scientists have recognized the dilemma, but at the same time they have been affected by the tremendous faith so prevalent in America. Like Dewey, Stroud believed that "education is, or certainly may be, more than a mechanism of maintenance of societies; it is or may be a means of their growth." [1] This author recognized that while the schools function primarily as the transmitter of culture, they might also become the agents of social change. Without facing the question of how it is to be accomplished, Stroud expressed the same hope as the auto mechanic, who, in turn, reflects the popular position. In recent years there has emerged an increasingly articulate concept of American education that the schools should help induce and direct social change rather

[1] James B. Stroud, *Psychology in Education,* New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1946, p. 1.

than merely maintain the *status quo*.   Charles Johnson, for example, although he recognized the difficulties involved when education seeks to modify the culture it transmits, contended that education is more than transmission, that "it is transformation of peoples." [2]

Despite the great faith which Americans have in education, many social scientists, particularly those with cross-cultural experience, question the validity of the belief that stimulation or retardation in the rate of social change is an educational function.   Commenting on this assumption, Ruth Benedict wrote:

> Such criticisms assume . . . that education should shoulder the responsibility for ushering in a new social order. . . .   It is an assumption that can be examined in the light of other cultures and such an examination can throw light on the whole relation of education to social change. . . .   Stability of culture over generations is not a function of a particular kind of education that is given to children.   It is a function rather of social conditions in the whole tribe or nation. [3]

Margaret Mead also criticized the belief expressed by many that education can serve a creative rather than a conservative transmission function. [4]   In view of the doubts expressed concerning the assumption that education can and should build a new social order, we will examine the role which the educational system can play in the process of social change.   In order for this to be done, an examination of the nature of social control as it impinges on the American schools is essential.   In the light of the control of education, we will consider its function in the process of social change.

SOCIAL CONTROL OF EDUCATION

In its broadest sense social control refers to any action on the part of one person which determines the action of another. [5]   Since

[2] Charles Johnson, "Education and the Cultural Process: Introduction to Symposium," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 48, 1943, p. 632.

[3] Ruth Benedict, "Transmitting the Democratic Heritage in the Schools," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 48, 1943, pp. 722–727.

[4] Margaret Mead, "Our Educational Emphasis in Primitive Perspective," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 48, 1943, pp. 633 ff.

[5] There are several books and sections of books which will help the reader to obtain a more complete understanding of this whole topic.   Among these are E. A. Ross, *Social Control,* New York: Macmillan, 1901; F. E. Lumley, *The Means of Social Control,* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1925; and J. S. Roucek, *et al., Social Control,* New York: Van Nostrand, 1947.   Kimball Young, *Sociology,* New York: American Book, 2nd ed., 1949, Chaps. 29 and 31, gives a good brief discussion.

the behavior of human beings always develops in interaction with others (see Chapter 1), all behavior is, in a real sense, controlled by these contacts. Much of the behavior of any person is influenced by the actions and expectations of others. As these are internalized, they become the person's own norms of behavior, and hence a controlling force. This is an important consideration in the analysis of the control of the school because the process by which its teachers and administrators are selected involves an understanding of their dominant values and beliefs.

More narrowly, social control refers to the external determination of the individual's actions by others who have the power or influence to do so. Sometimes such control is presumed to cause the person to act in ways divergent from his own norms. This external control, of course, is exerted by some person or group possessed of power, which may take the form either of physical force or the use of symbolic means to bring about the prescribed or expected action. In American society, as in others, interaction is largely on the symbolic level, and most control is verbally administered through symbols that anticipate some type of pleasant or unpleasant consequences. The anticipation of rewards and punishments from those in power is a real part of the life of the school teacher or administrator in any American community. Even though physical force is seldom used to direct the behavior of those in charge of the educational program, the system of control is none the less real.

External control of education.   Many Americans, imbued with the faith that education can change the social order, assume that the schools are independent agencies. As such they are presumed to function without regard to the other parts of society. This is far from a valid assumption, since no part of a social system is free of the norms and system of power in this way. Education is no exception. This is particularly clear in light of the knowledge that the school system in America was created by the churches, the state, and other community organizations. However, the power to control the public schools in the community may not be directly given to the agencies which took part in their establishment. It is important to learn by whom they are controlled, for what ends, and by what means.

Sources of control.   Direct control of the educational system rests with the teachers and administrators of the schools.   The day-to-day decisions regarding the educational process are made by the teachers.   Within the range of accepted activities, the teacher is not only permitted, but also expected to exert authority over the conduct of the children.   When teachers are faced with decisions for which there are no clearly understood norms, consultation with the administrator is the common practice.   Such consultation is frequently a means of transferring the responsibility for making the decision to the administrator.   This protects the teacher from the criticism of those who have the power to force compliance with their wishes.   Teachers frequently make decisions concerning some children, but not others.   The child whose parents have no power may be the object of decisions that, with few exceptions, are made by the teacher without prior consultation.   In contrast, the children of families known to have positions of power in the community may be immune to the teacher's control, and in many cases to that of the principal or superintendent as well.   If the teacher is doubtful of her immunity to outside power, she is more likely to seek the administrator's protection than to make the decision without consultation.

Administrators usually have greater latitude in the exercise of control.   This differential probably derives from their better understanding of what can and cannot be done without arousing the external sources of power rather than from any difference in the range of permissiveness.   This superior understanding of the limits of their control has caused many school principals to be severely criticized by their teachers.   Not infrequently, teachers make decisions concerning students before consulting the principal and later fear that the powers of the community will disapprove of the action.   Faced with this possibility, the teacher wants the principal to support her decision.   If doing so is likely to threaten his position, the administrator may ask the teacher to face the aroused patron without his support.   In such a situation the teacher's hostility is almost certain to be directed against the administrator.

If the democratic processes were to function ideally, one might expect the ultimate control of the educational system to rest with the majority of the people of all classes.   Generally the political structure provides for a vote by certain eligible citizens to select

school board members or other officials who, in turn, select board members. Rarely does a high proportion of the population participate in any election involving school policies. While this abstention frequently gives the teacher greater freedom from external control, at the same time it permits special interest groups to exert pressure on the school board and school staff. Occasionally an entire community becomes aroused by a crisis in a school program. At such times genuine majority opinion may be so expressed that educational policy may be said to be determined by the bulk of the citizens. Such decisions are rare and are usually followed by a return to power of the special interest groups.

An understanding of the actual control of the schools depends upon analysis both of the community power structure and of the personnel of school boards. As to the former, there has been no adequate study; but a description of the behavior of school boards tells us much of the groups in direct control.

Until the last three-quarters of a century or so, no formal schooling, beyond the few years necessary for a mastery of reading, writing, and a little arithmetic, was considered necessary except for the elite, who were expected to enter professional occupations. Only the higher-status citizens showed any great interest in education at that time. They therefore determined school policy without interference. This tradition has continued in some strength to the present time. All of the studies now available indicate that the members of school boards are drawn almost exclusively from professional and business groups in the towns and cities, and from the higher-status farm groups in strictly rural areas.[6]

This is evident, too, in the class identification of the members of the school boards in three towns studied by Warner and his associates. In one community all five board members were classified as upper-middle class; in the second community, three were upper-middle and two were lower-upper; in the third community, six were in middle-class and two in upper-class categories.[7] It is clear that the school boards in these communities were dominated by the upper-middle and upper-class groups. Consequently they are pre-

[6] For further detail on the composition of school boards see: George S. Counts, "The Social Composition of School Boards," *University of Chicago Supplementary Educational Monographs, No. 33,* 1937, and Harold Hand, "Who Runs Our School Boards?" *The American Teacher,* Vol. 23, 1939.
[7] W. L. Warner, Robert Havighurst, and Martin Loeb, *Who Shall Be Educated?* New York: Harper & Bros., 1944.

dominantly professional, business, or other white-collar persons. The manual workers and other lower-status groups are not proportionately represented, although in most cases they have the privilege of voting for board members.

Such school boards might, and often do, operate the schools in the interests of the majority of the people, which, in most communities, would be lower-status groups. Yet, if there are differences in goals, the desires of the groups with whom board members are identified are likely to take precedence over those of the lower-status groups. Furthermore, it must be recognized that the board members do not act independently in the making of educational decisions. It is, therefore, important to know who may influence the board members. There is no adequate evidence on which to base an answer to this question, but in broad scope it is known that churches, veterans' organizations, real estate groups, chambers of commerce, and other business and professional organizations frequently put pressure on the school authorities. Pressure is also exerted by the laboring people, but not so often and not so strong.[8]

In addition to the organized pressure which may be brought to bear on the school board members or teachers, there are frequently even more significant informal channels of influence. This is illustrated by the report of a Midwestern school trustee to the writer. When asked with whom he liked to talk before making up his mind about some school questions, he revealed the names of two men. One of these was a retired school principal who had lived in the community for many years; the other was a relatively high-status man who was influential in the councils of the dominant political party. This school trustee seldom made a decision without consulting these men. On many occasions, of course, he would have made decisions which would have had their support anyway, but he felt the need of being assured of their backing before he acted.

There is real need for an extensive study of both the frequency with which such informal channels of influence operate and of the interests or groups which such educational opinion-leaders represent. We can only assume from studies in other areas of behavior that the school board members are unlikely to seek the opinions of persons of lower status than their own.

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[8] For further discussion of this point, see Mark Starr, *Labor Looks at Education*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1946.

Aims of control.   In the previous chapter we noted that many Americans expect the educational system to solve many social problems and to increase the opportunities for social mobility.   It seems unlikely that school boards, composed of higher-status people and influenced as they apparently are by persons with similar interests, would knowingly initiate an educational program which would result in major changes in the class structure.   In this respect the school boards and their associates in control are desirous of maintaining the *status quo*.   They are either in satisfactory positions or sufficiently near to such positions that the class structure is not oppressive to them.

In other areas the agencies of school control are likely to seek those ends agreeable to the status and occupational groups with which they are identified.   The professionals want their own children to receive the type of academic training that will prepare them for higher levels of college and professional training.   Controlling groups may have no well-established opinion concerning the training of children who are not likely to seek higher education.   In this case the demand for academic training will be most salient for them. The business-management interests among the controlling group will have similar desires for their own children.   For the children of working-class families, however, they may have more definite ideas.   Generally businessmen want these children to receive a type of training that will make them efficient and tractable workmen in their offices, stores, and factories.   Along with this, such school boards would like to have the children of working-class parents well indoctrinated with the businessman's point of view in regard to the capitalistic system and the relations of management and labor.[9]

Most of the organized pressure groups effective in controlling the schools desire the same ends as those represented by the board members.   Veterans' groups and other "patriotic" organizations may, however, place more emphasis on the particular brand of Americanism which they represent.   The American Legion through its Americanism Commission has been particularly active in exerting pressure on the schools to teach those things that are believed

[9] See Starr, *op. cit.,* and Frank Sparks, "What Management Wants from Our Schools," *Studies in Higher Education,* Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University, 1944, pp. 22–26.

to result in the Legion's concept of American behavior.[10]   The churches, with various interpretations of ethics and values, have always exerted effective pressure to see that the schools teach the values they espouse.   Church groups frequently represent different social-class groups, but in most cases those embracing the values of the dominant group in the community are most effective in controlling the school program.   In general, except for times when the general public becomes aroused, the wishes of the higher-status white-collar groups take precedence in the educational program.

Means of control.   Perhaps the most effective means of controlling the school is through selection and dismissal of teachers, and through informal pressures.   School boards and their supporting groups have not hesitated to refuse employment to teachers who, regardless of other qualifications, were believed to present ideas or materials which would stimulate youth to think, or to do, anything likely to upset the *status quo*.   This is illustrated by the case of Mr. R who had taught for many years in a Midwestern town.

> Mr. R had the reputation of being a good teacher, although he was relatively liberal in his views on certain social issues.   On one occasion the daughter of one of the leading industrialists reported to her father a statement that he was purported to have made about some of the inequalities in the American economic system.   Without investigating the accuracy of the report, the industrialist demanded that the school board dismiss the teacher.   This the board was prepared to do, but the board members decided to have an open meeting in which the views of the citizens could be heard before proceeding with the dismissal.   The charges of the industrialist were presented and various persons supported them.   Before voting, however, another influential person spoke in Mr. R's defense.   His comments were to the effect that Mr. R was a member of a highly respected family and had served the community for many years.   The spokesman also reported that he had obtained from Mr. R a promise to refrain from making any statements that would not be approved.   On the strength of this promise the board voted to continue Mr. R's employment.

10 See H. L. Chaillaux, "The American Legion's Interest in Education," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. 182, 1935, pp. 116–119.

Although Mr. R was not dismissed, as he would have been without the support of influential friends, he was effectively throttled in his teaching. Furthermore, it is very likely that the superintendent and the board of education will exercise extreme care in the selection of new teachers to prevent the reoccurrence of such a situation. The history of teacher tenure in innumerable American communities provides similar cases. Under the latent threat of dismissal, every teacher knows that there are certain subjects he must avoid or of which he must be so cautious that he is ineffective.

Informal pressures are frequently exerted on the teachers by such means as gossip about their ideas or behavior, comments conveyed by the children of powerful patrons, recognition or ostracism, and many others. The case of Mr. J is more obvious, but it still illustrates the pressure exerted by one of the elite of the community in which he taught.

A few years ago arrangements had been made by the officials of a teachers' association for the Town Meeting of the Air to be broadcast from its annual meeting. A week before the meeting it was learned that the topic of the Town Meeting concerned communists in labor unions and that one of the speakers was a well-known Communist Party member. Mr. A, a leading citizen and businessman of the locality, immediately wired the governor of the state asking him to intercede to prevent the Town Meeting and specifically to prevent this Communist from appearing before the assembled teachers of the area.

Mr. J, a high-school teacher, had served for a year on the Association's Executive Committee which planned to serve as a welcoming committee for the Town Meeting speakers. Shortly after Mr. A's protest to the governor had been made public, Mr. J publicly stated that he would not greet the Town Meeting speakers and that he did not approve of bringing unionism into the schools.

Mr. J's statement clearly indicates that he dared not support the program, which he had previously helped to arrange, after the elite of his community had registered its disapproval. No doubt this incident renewed in many other teachers an awareness of the need to maintain the *status quo* in the social system. A teacher's failure to bow to such pressure frequently means dismissal.

A second method often used by the power group to control the

nature of the educational program is the restriction of tax funds
for the school. Many administrators of schools which provide only
the traditional academic program designed for higher-status chil-
dren would like to enrich the program to serve the needs of other
groups. Such a program requires larger budgets. Industrial in-
terests and other heavy taxpayers frequently oppose such programs.
Through propaganda and other influence on the school board, these
groups are often able to restrict the school program.[11]

Budget limitation is very often associated with a propaganda
campaign against a school program that includes all the "expen-
sive frills." Such campaigns are sponsored by special interest and
the higher-income groups who control, or at least have influence
through, informal channels and mass communication media such
as newspapers and radio stations. Their support of traditional
education in the "fundamentals" finds a favorable response among
many persons whose children's welfare would be much better served
by a broader, but perhaps more expensive school program.

"The New York State Chamber of Commerce in 1939 adopted
a report to the effect that the state should pay only for enough edu-
cation 'to kill illiteracy.' 'The state,' it said, 'must endeavor to
carry all the youngsters up to that point, but beyond that point
youngsters will do better if they have to put up a real fight to go on,
and beyond that point, it is a fair question whether the State should
bear all expenses or whether parents amply able to educate their
own youngsters should pay for it.' " [12] This appeal to the traditional
values of individual initiative may have some effect on the opinions
of those desiring something from the schools that the Chamber of
Commerce did not wish. If so the schools are less likely to be
encouraged to spend any money on programs to give the lower-
status youth any higher-class values.

The National Association of Manufacturers, The American Le-
gion, The American Medical Association, private utilities compa-
nies, and many other organizations as well as the Chamber of Com-
merce have carried on nation-wide campaigns to provide the teachers
with "acceptable" teaching material and to influence the content

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[11] See F. T. Rope, *Opinion Conflict and School Support, Teachers College Con-
tributions to Education, No. 838,* New York: Columbia University, 1941, for
an excellent analysis of the program of this sort in one American community.
[12] The Institute of Propaganda Analysis, "Propaganda Over Our Schools," *Propa-
ganda Analysis, 4,* February, 1941. The major portion of this is quoted from
the *Monthly Bulletin,* Chamber of Commerce of New York, Nov. 1939.

of textbooks.[13]   These campaigns sometimes take the form of essays or speech contests in which the material to be discussed is sharply defined by the sponsoring agency.   The indoctrinational aspects of such contests are illustrated by the following case known to the author.

The school which Martha was attending co-operated with a high-status women's organization which was sponsoring an essay contest on great American women.   The teacher encouraged Martha, who was one of her brighter students, to enter the contest even though she came from a working-class family.   Martha chose to write an essay on the life of Eleanor Roosevelt.   When the representative of the women's organization called at the school to discuss the better essays with the teacher and their authors, the teacher presented Martha's as one of the best.   The lady was quite incensed and reprimanded Martha with the comment, "Why should you write about her?   She is not a great woman."   Martha's essay received no further consideration in the contest.

Although the means may be subtle, the ends desired by the controlling groups in the society are constantly being placed before the teachers.

Internalized attitudes of teachers.   The analysis of the external pressure on the teachers of American schools makes it almost unnecessary to mention that teachers' own attitudes and values also play a role in the determination of the educational program.   Much of the discussion of external controls might leave the impression that all teachers were constantly struggling to resist the powers seeking to determine educational policy.   Although there are some teachers who feel the yoke of control, many have so completely internalized the desires and beliefs of the controlling group that these attitudes are clearly their own.   This seemingly results from three major processes: (1) the selection of persons who hold such values, sentiments, and beliefs; (2) interaction and identification with people in the schools who hold such values and beliefs; and (3) the desire for the security, status, and approval which those in control are in a position to give.

[13] See Institute of Propaganda Analysis, *op. cit.,* and F. E. Lumley, *The Propaganda Menace,* New York: Century, 1933, pp. 301–329, for analyses of some such campaigns to influence the curriculum content.

We know all too little of the attitudes, values, and beliefs of people who enter the teaching profession. As we shall see in Chapter 10, it is impossible to say at this time whether the behavior of teachers is the result of selection of teaching personnel or of the social forces that operate upon them after entering the school. Evidence from one study indicates that college students of education are slightly more liberal concerning the employment of members of minority groups in the schools than are experienced teachers and board members. There is also evidence indicating that teachers are slightly more liberal on some issues than members of school boards, but when the data in this study are examined, one is impressed with the similarity between teachers and their employers.[14] If these are typical of other attitudes, prospective teachers may be somewhat more liberal than school board members, but the difference in beliefs is relatively slight. This is true also of differences between prospective teachers and experienced ones. It is possible that these last differences may be accounted for by the selection of the more conservative of the prospective teachers.

Although liberal persons may be chosen for teaching positions in some cases, our limited evidence suggests that the teaching profession as a whole is conservative in its social attitudes. In general, new teachers move in a circle of friends and acquaintances from the teaching field and/or from positions allied with education. As the new teachers come to identify themselves with other teachers, they assume the role of the teacher, and no doubt internalize the attitudes and beliefs of the group with which they most frequently interact. New teachers who rebel are more likely to be unhappy in their work and to arouse the suspicions of those in control. They are, therefore, not likely to last long.

The third factor which may affect the internalized attitudes of the teaching profession is the desire for status in the community. Available evidence [15] indicates that the majority of teachers come from lower middle-class families. By becoming teachers they acquire somewhat higher status, although they are seldom accepted as full members of the higher-status groups. Their success in

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[14] Florence Greenhoe, *Community Contacts and Participation of Teachers,* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941, pp. 31–37.

[15] Greenhoe, *op. cit.,* pp. 8–14; W. L. Warner, Robert Havighurst, and M. L. Loeb, *Who Shall Be Educated?* New York: Harper & Bros., 1944; W. L. Warner, *et al., Democracy in Jonesville,* New York: Harper & Bros., 1949; and A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth,* New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949.

achieving such social positions is, in part, dependent on the internalization of the values and beliefs of the group toward which they aspire. In their striving for acceptance in higher-status positions in society, they frequently come to favor the values and beliefs of the people who control the educational system. This is particularly true in many cases because their tenure, as well as their social status, is dependent on the acceptance and teaching of such values.

There is still much to be learned about the control of the American educational system and the ends which those in control desire the schools to serve. Apparently control is more likely to rest in groups relatively conservative in regard to social change. Both the school staff and those who have power over the teachers and administrators are inclined to place high value on the culture and social structure approved by persons satisfied with the society and their positions in it.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND EDUCATION

Before discussing the function of education in social change, let us note a few points of particular significance as to the nature of social change. First is the principle that the rates of change vary widely in different cultures and among different aspects of the same culture. In highly isolated societies the rate of cultural change is relatively slow because there is little opportunity for diffusion of elements of other cultures. On the contrary, those societies having ready access to the ideas and materials of others through trade, travel, and rapid communication generally change more rapidly. The factor of isolation-accessibility is, of course, associated with numerous other social conditions. For example, in some societies the culture is transmitted almost intact from one generation to another. In others the culture may be modified in each generation. The American culture is the latter type. The problem facing American education is the demand of some conservative elements that it prevent rapid change in some aspects of the culture, while other elements want the same or other features modified even more rapidly or in other directions.

A second observation concerns the differential rates of change within various segments of a culture. This is more likely to be found in conditions of rapid change. As a rule, in these cultures material things such as tools and machinery, and the techniques

associated with them, are discarded more rapidly than the nonmaterial aspects such as family structure, religion, government, or other aspects of social relations.   This is particularly true in America, because our culture includes a great belief in the desirability of new mechanical gadgets.   The *new* automobile, washing machine, or hay baler is *better* than the *old*.   There is no restraint on the acceptance of the *latest things*.   In fact the salesman of material devices finds it very profitable to emphasize that his model is the very latest, just off the assembly line.   On the other hand there is a great reluctance toward, and pressure against, accepting the new in family relations, religion, government, or similar institutions.   Thus, in this culture there is a tendency to exaggerate the difference in the rate of change by accelerating the one type and retarding the other.

Efforts to control the change in different aspects of a total culture are not entirely successful.   Many times the changes in two or more aspects are interrelated, although there may be a lag.[16]   For instance, the impact of the newer modes of transportation may be such that the whole structure of the family is affected.   The development of steam and electric power has involved all the institutions of Western society.   We Americans assume we can speed up changes in tools, machines, and gadgets without producing related modification in the structure of our social order and of our beliefs and values.   All aspects of society are functionally interrelated to others.   And contrary to popular assumption, this includes the school, since it is a part of the total social system.   For this reason we must examine the educational system as an aspect of the total society in the light of the over-all process of cultural change.   The schools do not function as something apart which can mold the society.   They are not an extrasocietal agency, but are embedded in the social system.   Education acts within, not upon, the social system.

Education as an agency of change.   Before considering education as an agency of change, we should review some of the prevalent expectations of education.   The schools are expected to prepare the

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[16] W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change with Respect to Culture and Original Nature,* New York: Viking Press, 1922.   This is a basic work in the field of social change as well as the original source of the concept of culture lag.

youth for occupations that will be available to them in a rapidly changing industrial system.   Seemingly, it doesn't matter to prospective employers that the kinds of workers in demand when the youth is in school may not even be mentioned when he is forty. The problems involved in providing effective vocational training are major concerns of educational planners.   Employers are divided on whether the school should prepare the young for specific jobs or should give them some kind of basic training to help in readily adjusting to new job situations.   In the latter case, the nature of the training is not defined.   Here the task of the school is seen not as one of stimulating changes in occupations, but as one of keeping up with the changes constantly occurring as the result of other forces.

We have also noted that the school is expected to provide educational experiences that will solve the social problems of the time and make the world a better place in which to live.   This is indeed a complex task.   There is no doubt that the schools' training in science and technology has contributed much to the development of new methods and materials by which Americans have improved their level of living.   Our agriculture, engineering, and much of the science training has, to a large extent, been devoted to the goal of making "better things for better living."   This is not directly a function of the elementary and secondary schools, but it permeates the entire educational system with a widespread recognition of the value of technological change.

The effect of education as a whole, therefore, is to increase the speed with which technological and material changes are diffused throughout the society.   The more extensive the education in science and in skill in communication, the more willing the individual is to accept the improved methods of production, tools, or machines.   In much the same way, the educational system also contributes toward making a better world in the realms of health, labor-saving devices, and related fields.

The extent to which education in the scientific and technological aspects of life can contribute to the solution of such problems as war, crime, poverty, intergroup conflict, labor-management conflict, and other social questions is distinctly more limited.   These, however, are problems many Americans have in mind when they call on education to make a better world.   The physical and biological sciences or other areas in which the schools are free to stim-

ulate change may produce some desired modification in the conditions causing these problems.   However, the over-all effect of the scientific and technological changes to which the schools contribute probably serves to complicate the social problems of a given time.   This is illustrated by McIver and Page's statement on the impact of technology.

> The course of civilization has been marked by a constant development of the means of communication, but never so rapidly as in our own days, when electricity is not only being adopted as motive power in place of steam, not only is a factor in the improvement of automobile and airplane, not only makes the motion picture a vast commercial enterprise and television a promising adventure, but also, resuming its distance-annihilating range, becomes in the radio a voice that is heard simultaneously by millions over the face of the earth.   The impact of these changes on society is too enormous and too multifarious to be dealt with here except by way of incidental illustration.   Every step of technological advance inaugurates a series of changes that interact with others emanating from the whole technological system.   The radio, for example, affects a family situation already greatly influenced by modern technology, so that its impetus toward the restoration of leisure enjoyment within the home is in part counteracted or limited by opposing tendencies.   Again, the radio combines with other technological changes to reduce the cultural differentiation of social classes and of urban and rural communities. . . .   It is scarcely too much to say that every major problem of modern society is either initiated by or at least strongly affected by technological change.   Conflicts between states, as they strive for dominance, for security, or for prosperity, are in no small measure concerned with competing ambitions to secure or control areas rich in oil, coal, or other resources of crucial importance to modern industry.   Again, the specialization of functions in a modern economy gives rise to a multitude of organized groups, each of which seeks its own economic advantage and each of which has the power of withholding a service that modern interdependence renders indispensable.   On the other hand, these groups are affiliated with or incorporated into massive federations or combinations.   These in turn exercise a correspondingly greater power, so that the disputes arising out of their clashing interests threaten to disrupt the whole social order.[17]

[17] R. M. McIver and Charles H. Page, *Society: An Introductory Analysis,* New York: Rinehart & Co., 1949, pp. 556–557.   This has a good analysis of the entire process of social change.   Reprinted by permission.

Our sentiments and beliefs about social institutions as well as their functions may be affected by the technological changes in a modern society. By this route the educational system which stimulates technological change has an impact on the structure and culture of the society which fosters it. It is exactly here that one of the major difficulties of education occurs. It is expected to stimulate change in the material and technological realm and at the same time to preserve the capitalist system, to demonstrate that the enemy is always to blame for war, to prevent the intervention of government in business, to maintain permanent patterns of family relations, to teach respect for private property, and to protect the middle class by perpetuating the belief that the poor are inherently lazy "no-count" people for whom nothing can be done. In other words, the educational system is expected to prevent any change in the sentiments and beliefs concerned with human relations at the same time it teaches a science and technology almost certain to make some forms of human relations obsolete. Since most Americans are not aware of this dilemma in which they place the schools, they continue to expect and teachers continue to teach the soundness of change in one area and the soundness of stability in another.[18] Moreover, in doing so teachers behave in terms of the norms of the society, for we believe that technological change is good, but that serious modification in social relations is undesirable.

The mention of social norms leads to quite another aspect of the relation of education to social change. It is clear from our earlier analysis that the school is expected, by those satisfied with the *status quo,* to transmit the unmodified norms of society to the new generation. In general the control of the school rests with people of this persuasion. It must be recognized that most Americans want the social norms undisturbed, although this is not in harmony with their desire for a better world. Certainly the groups in control of the schools want the cultural belief in the value of technological change to be transmitted as well as the knowledge and skills which will perpetuate such change. At the same time these groups want the schools to transmit the mores which maintain that the family structure, religious beliefs, and the Constitution are sacred

[18] See Robert and Helen Lynd, *Middletown in Transition,* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1937, pp. 204–241, for an excellent illustration of the dilemma in one American city.

and permanent.   In this sense the transmission of the social norms is a conservative influence.   The school functionary who attempts to teach some modification of the norms usually is immediately under suspicion.   Thus the school serves to perpetuate the *status quo* in society with all its problems. In transmitting the norm of continual technological change, schools no doubt play a role in the stimulation of social change, but in the transmission of other social norms they tend to be a conservative agency.

Education and the building of a new social order.   As previously noted, many educators and social scientists feel that America's system of mass education could be and should be directed toward building a new social order.[19]   An analysis of the forces controlling the schools raises a question about the possibility of achieving such a goal.   The building of a new social order would require the controlling groups to agree on the kind of society to be sought.   The dominating interest of these groups is in using the school to maintain the society as it is.   There is little likelihood that they would agree with the reformers that there should be a change; there is even less chance they would agree upon what kind of change was desired.

The hopes of some may be based on the belief that teachers may initiate the necessary changes without undue interference from conservative interests.   The difficulty with this is that the teachers are part of the society to be changed and have generally accepted the goals of the controlling groups.   Their changes would be little different from the old.   Margaret Mead recognized this when she wrote: "A new world is not built by changing the 'old' to the 'old' of the teacher in power, but might be by freeing the child to build his generation from his new blueprint." [20]   However, the source from which the child is to obtain the new blueprint is not given.   Such anticipation seems to be based on the assumption that the school is independent of the society to be changed by the new generation.   We see no means by which the schools can be separated from society and its controls and thereby be permitted to build a new order.   If this were possible, the teachers, as architects of the new order, would still design the plans from the old.

[19] In addition to the references in footnotes 1–4 see Robert Lynd, *Knowledge for What?* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939; and George S. Counts, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* New York: John Day, 1932.

[20] See Margaret Mead, *op. cit.,* pp. 633–639.

Remote, indeed, then is the possibility of the school's creating a new society independent of the other forces of social change. This does not mean that the school cannot contribute to the change process when the forces of control permit the initiation of change in some areas.   An examination of the role of education in the revolutionary processes in Hitlerian Germany and Soviet Russia demonstrates that a new controlling group can use the educational system to advantage in bringing about the changes it desires.   This illustrates the effectiveness of the educational system in indoctrinating the youth with a desire for the type of society wanted by those in control.   Changes in the social order in these instances involved drastic changes in the controlling forces.   The new masters of a conquered nation may also profitably use the schools if they want to make the subjected society different.   To do this they must persist in the maintenance of a new system of power long enough for controlling interests to be thoroughly indoctrinated in the new social system.

SUMMARY

The amount of information on the function of education in the process of social change is far from adequate.   In spite of the American faith in its efficacy, few students of social change have even considered the function of education in this process.   Careful research on this problem is completely lacking.   Our observations are therefore only hypotheses that should be further examined. On this basis, we offer the general propositions that: (1) control of American education is generally in the hands of conservative elements in the society; (2) the control of education is exerted to prevent change except in the areas where the dominant group desires change; (3) as an integral part of the society, education can function as an agency of change only within the structure of the society, and not as an external agency; and (4) the American faith in education as the creator of a better world can be realized only as the other forces also function as agencies of change.

Questions for Discussion

1. What makes a social problem too "controversial" for school discussion?
2. How are school board members influenced by interest groups?

3. Do the children of working-class parents accept readily the businessman's point of view often put before them in the school?
4. How might both selection and social forces influence the teacher's behavior in the school?
5. In the light of your knowledge of one school community, indicate areas in which education can support social change and those in which it cannot.
6. Select some field such as international relations and note how the definitions of "proper" teaching have changed over a period of twenty years.

Suggestions for Further Reading

American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 48, May 1943, particularly Ruth Benedict, "Transmitting Our Democratic Heritage in the Schools," pp. 722–727.

Lynd, Robert, *Knowledge for What?* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939.

Lynd, Robert and Helen M., *Middletown in Transition,* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1937.

Mead, Margaret, *The School in American Culture,* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951.

Moore, Clyde B., and Cole, William B., *Sociology in Educational Practice,* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1952, Chapter 17.

5. Social Class and Education

ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL CLASS IS NOW THE VOGUE in everything from academic journals to *Life* magazine. Education has not escaped this influence. Much of this concern undoubtedly arises from the American belief in a democratic society with a relatively fluid social structure, and the common assumption that education is the means by which equality of opportunity and social mobility are guaranteed. Hence, although much is yet to be learned about the social class system in American society, there is some basis for considering the relationship between the class structure and the educational system. Before we examine this relationship, we should consider the nature of the social class structure in America.

THE NATURE OF SOCIAL CLASSES IN AMERICA

The concept *social class* has many diverse meanings, all of which refer to some differentiation among the population of a society. A critical examination of the numerous bases for differentiation and of the development of a theory of social class is not intended,[1] but some general considerations may be mentioned.

At least three bases for differentiation of the class groups can

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[1] Numerous persons have done this. For some of them, see Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization,* edited by Talcott Parsons, New York: Oxford University Press, 1947; Kingsley Davis, "A Conceptual Analysis of Stratification," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 7, 1942, pp. 309–321; Talcott Parsons, "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 45, 1940, pp. 841–862; Lucio Mendieta y Nunez, "The Social Classes," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 11, 1946, pp. 166–176; Charles H. Cooley, *Social Organization,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York: 1929; and Herbert Goldhamer and Edward Shils, "Types of Power and Status," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 45, 1939, pp. 171–182. Numerous other items may be found in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset, *Class, Status and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification,* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953.

be noted.   Perhaps the most common is classification in terms of *status* and *prestige*.   A second, which is frequently closely related, but not identical, is differentiation of *power*.   Persons or groups such as American labor leaders may have much power in the community, but they have relatively low status or prestige.   A third basis is a differentiation of people in terms of *sentiments* and *interests*.   In this sense a social class is a broad group of people with relatively similar sentiments and interests, distinguishable from those of another class.

Much difficulty and confusion in the conceptualization of social class theory exists because the above criteria, distinguishable in the abstract, are not so distinguishable in the minds of the people whose interactions compose a class system.   Differences in status, power, and sentiments are in reality almost always involved in a total complex of differences.

One means of avoiding this problem in defining the nature of class differences is to have the people of the community, wherein class identification is desired, delineate the different classes and identify the members of each.   Warner and his associates have made most extensive use of this operational technique without actually defining the basis on which the differentiation is made.[2]   This concept of social class ignores the theoretical basis for the class differentiation and attempts to determine the stratification existing in the interaction among the people, for it is assumed that "they are the final authorities about the realities of American social class." [3]

This technique, which Warner calls *evaluated participation,* makes no attempt to distinguish between differences in status and differences in power or sentiments.   It may be assumed that these are interrelated to some extent, and that all are involved in the stratification which members of the group conceive among themselves.   People in one community may stratify on a different basis than those in another.   For this reason it is difficult to equate the class system delineated by this method in one community with that of another.   Much of the research on education and social class is based upon Warner's method.

[2] W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, *Social Class in America,* Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949, gives the most recent and detailed account of the process used in the identification of the various classes. This volume also contains a bibliography of other works by this group and other studies of social class.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 38.

Other studies have used various socio-economic criteria commonly correlated with social class position.   Among these are occupation, amount and source of income, levels of educational attainment, religious affiliation, quality and size of house, ecological area in which the residence is located, family origin, participation in organizational activities, and numerous other symbols of position. There is no universally accepted method of identifying the social class of a person or family.   Perhaps no particular criterion or combination of criteria is equally valid for all communities.   In some cases, particularly in rural communities, it is difficult to delineate the class structure.   In other cases there may be two or more parallel systems of stratification.   Stone and Form report such a situation in Vansburg.[4]   In this community the older residents and the newcomers were stratified in two distinguishable systems. These were sometimes confused and difficult to recognize.   It may be added that the farm people living in the surrounding area interacted in a third, ill-defined but emerging, class system.   This community demonstrates the possible error in positing a single hierarchical class system.   It also is indicative that there are varying systems of class stratification in American communities.

Analyses of American communities have been made in terms of several sets of social classes.   In Middletown the classification included the business class and the working class.[5]   In Yankee City, Warner and his associates delineated six classes: the upper-upper, lower-upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower, and the lower-lower.   In other communities they have found that the two upper groups are indistinguishable.[6]   In another community study designed to determine the extent to which children recognize the class system, Stendler discovered three main classes with a sub-divided lower class and a very small upper class.[7]   Using the terms common to the people of the community, she called these: the

[4] Gregory P. Stone and William Form, "Instabilities in Status: The Problem of Hierarchy in the Community Study of Status Arrangement," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 18, 1953, pp. 149–162.

[5] Robert and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown,* and *Middletown in Transition,* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1929, 1937.

[6] W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *Yankee City Series,* Vols. I and II, particularly Vol. II, *The Status System of a Modern Community,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942; and Warner, Meeker, and Eells, *op cit.;* and Warner *et al., Democracy in Jonesville,* New York: Harper & Bros., 1949.

[7] Celia Burns Stendler, *Children in Brasstown,* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949.

upper-middle or cream-of-the-middle class, the white-collar class, and the working class. The brief description which she gives each of these is indicative of the broad class types that are common to American city and town communities.

> Brasstown had an upper class, small and exclusive, typified by the Rockwells. They were "old family"; in their day they had given much to the town. A bridge, the town hall, the public library, all were memorials to members of Brasstown's first family. Renoirs in the Rockwells' possession were loaned to the Metropolitan Museum in New York upon occasion. They were not the richest family in town, but they were able to maintain a residence in Brasstown and one in quiet, secluded Long Acres, whose upper class claimed them as members. The Rockwells and others like them had little communication with Brasstown society; their wives held themselves aloof from the women's clubs, and their children did not attend the public schools.
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> The upper-middle class represented a professional, managerial, or large business group and included both new and old factions in the town. The McDowells were described as good, comfortable, salt-of-the-earth kind of people, staunch church members. He was president of the local bank, but the family lived simply and unassumingly, although in the best section of town. The Pebles and the Loomises on the other hand, were considered to be "flashy." Each had started a little plant or business of his own on a shoestring in the twenties and exemplified the typical American success story of moving up the ladder, making good through cheap labor and poor working conditions. These were the people who built the big houses, who had the big cars with license plates spelling out their initials, whose socially ambitious wives were the clubwomen of the town. Then there were the Campbells, men with doctorate degrees in chemistry, who were in high managerial positions in the local factories. These men were comparative newcomers in town, but by adopting the symbols of the upper-middle class they were able to assume their places in it.
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> Clerks, schoolteachers, small proprietors, and the skilled craftsmen made another large class, the white-collar group, generally described by one of its members as including "people like you and I," good self-respecting honest Americans who recognize the importance of trying to get ahead. "Like the Barnetts; they're a good example. A nice little family. She was a Rogers from Rockville

before she was married — studied music. He's a steamfitter up at Eastern Foundry, belongs to the Elks. They have a nice little home up on Pine Street Extension."

The working class consisted mainly of operators on conveyors or those in comparable jobs, people who were "all right" but "ordinary," who might not have finished their schooling, or, above all, . . . had escaped the middle class zeal of forging upward. This group also included foreigners who were "trying to be good Americans" and any large group of industrial workers newly imported from other communities. The description of the Strieskis is typical of many others: "They're dull, stolid, thrifty, Poles who've saved enough to buy a little house up on Grosvenor Street. They're ordinary people — they both work on conveyors down in the Brass Shop — both rather ignorant, but they want their kids to get along, and they're raising them to be good Americans."

There was a subdivision of this lower group, sometimes referred to as the "lower fringe," comparatively easy to identify. There was no particular section in which this subdivision lived, and no particular name consistently used to describe it, such as the Riverbrookers of Yankee City, but being poor and living in a certain way could place one in this group. Some of its members were "queer" couples who lived on the outskirts of town in unions which had failed to be blessed by church or state, raising broods of "queer" children. Moral or cultural reasons also help to decide membership. If one drank too much and was also poor, had a dirty home and no "standards" one was in the "lower fringe." If one "ran around with niggers" or was a recently-arrived "Porkchop" (Portuguese), the chances were one would be assigned a place at the bottom of the scale. "Take the O'Shaughnesseys, for example. They live in clusters — a rough, tough, and hard-boiled lot. Father works down at the chemical plant — makes about $50.00 a week with overtime, but drinks it all up. He was arrested a couple of times for being a Peeping Tom." [8]

Stendler's subdivision of the working class and the upper class is similar to the five-class system reported by Warner in Jonesville. It is also comparable to the class structure of Johnstown.[9] Johns-

[8] Celia Burns Stendler, *Children in Brasstown, op. cit.,* pp. 21–22. Reprinted by permission of the University of Illinois Press.
[9] W. B. Brookover and John Holland, unpublished study of minorities in a Midwestern rural community, 1950, Michigan State College, Social Research Service, East Lansing.

town's old families were hardly distinguishable from the upper-middle class group; the "lower fringe," although not large in numbers, was commonly identified as the "no-counts."

All of the communities we have mentioned are either cities or smaller towns of various sizes.   There is some similarity in the class structures of these.   It must be recognized, however, that other communities may be stratified in quite a different manner.   This is particularly true of open-country farm groups.   Relatively limited analysis of rural class systems has been made, but there is evidence to indicate that a much less clearly differentiated system of classes is emerging in the farm society.   Analysis of the social structure in a Midwestern cornbelt community, identified as Maple County, reveals there are two distinct social systems among the people living on the land.[10]

One consists of nonfarmers who live on the land but who have little interaction with the farmers.   These are primarily identified with the town or city society.   Even in typical cornbelt farm communities, they represent an increasing proportion of the residents. The other is composed of farmers and part-time farmers who have some interaction in the farm group.   These systems in Maple County seemed to include five distinguishable but overlapping strata: (1) the Big Farmers, who hold such large acreage that they are primarily managers, rather than farm operators; (2) the Real or Commercial Farmers, who have modern equipment and operate sizable acreages; (3) the Traditional Farmers, who retain many of the characteristics of the smaller subsistence farm family; (4) the part-time or Weekend Farmers, who have other jobs, but engage in some farm operations; and (5) the Outcasts, who are found on the land as well as in the towns — the "No-counts."

SOCIAL CLASS DIFFERENCES IN FORMAL EDUCATION EXPERIENCE

The varied and extensive analysis of stratification in American society causes many to question the relation of social class position to the educational experiences of our youth.   Any analysis of the relationship between class position and education must include the variations in the amount and kind of formal school experience ob-

[10] *Ibid.*   See also Warner *et al., Democracy in Jonesville, op. cit.,* Chap. 14, by Evan Vogt, Jr.

tained by children from different strata. These will be examined in the light of school attendance, differences in the type of education provided, differences in educational aptitude, and teachers' classroom behavior in relation to children from different class levels.

School attendance and social class position.   School attendance has been consistently correlated with social class position. In many studies the highest grade level attained has been used as an index of social position. Warner, for example, found that the levels of school attainment and social class as determined by his Evaluated Participation technique were related to the extent of a .78 coefficient of correlation.[11] Although not in itself predictive of social-class position without consideration of other factors, the highest level of school attended is definitely related to class. The correlation does not, however, prove, as sometimes interpreted, that the acquisition of a higher level of education automatically provides the youth with a ticket to higher status. This correlation can result from the fact that the mass of youth from the lower-class families does not continue to higher levels of education. It does mean that, on the average, persons with higher social position go further in the formal school grades than those in lower classes. This relationship is also reflected in the high correlation between level of education and other indices of social class. Occupation, amount and source of income, residential area, self-evaluation of social class, and various symbols of class are all related to the level of educational attendance.[12]

At the elementary level there is little class difference in the proportion of children who attend school, but as the noncompulsory-school-attendance age is approached, sharp differences occur. Table III, adapted from Karpinos, shows the differences when two income levels are used as the index of class. He found that the youth from families with a $3,000 or more income were decidedly more likely to attend school after they reached their sixteenth year than children from families with less than a $1,000 income. Prior to this age there was only about a 2 per cent difference between the two groups. The differences were somewhat greater in the Southern states at all ages.

[11] W. Lloyd Warner *et al., Social Class in America, op. cit.,* pp. 165–169.
[12] *Ibid.,* pp. 169–175; also Brookover and Holland, *op. cit.*

TABLE III.   **School attendance in a sample of youth sixteen to twenty-four years of age attending school from high- and low-income families in United States' cities.**[13]

| | PERCENTAGE ATTENDING SCHOOL | | | |
| | Family income under $1,000 | | Family income $3,000 or more | |
Age	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
16–17 years	68.2	61.9	91.7	85.0
18–19 years	27.5	19.4	58.8	39.9
20–24 years	7.1	3.8	21.1	11.3

In their study of Hometown in the Midwest, Warner and his associates found 88 per cent of the upper- and upper-middle-class youth would attend college, while only 12 per cent of those in the lower and lower-middle class would attend.[14]

Although the adequacy of the economic resources of the family is no doubt a major factor in determining the length of school attendance, there are sharp class differences in the cultural patterns with regard to educational expectancy.[15]   It is taken for granted from the birth of the upper-class child that he will go to college; the only decision to be made is which college.   In the average laboring-class family, however, the child must break from the pattern of his family and associates in order to go to college.   Although it is increasingly likely that he will complete high school, in many communities the laborer's child may be expected to leave school as soon as he reaches his sixteenth year.   The professional family would be disgraced if its child did not complete high school, and in many cases, if he did not equip himself with the expected college education.

Two factors are involved in the class differences in school attendance.   One is the lack of interest in education which is common in the lower-class groups.   Although this culture pattern is typical of the lower-class, there is also evidence that many lower-status

[13] Adapted from Bernard D. Karpinos, "School Attendance as Affected by Prevailing Socio-economic Factors," *School Review,* Vol. 51, 1943, pp. 43 and 44, by permission of The University of Chicago Press.

[14] W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst, and Martin B. Loeb, *Who Shall Be Educated?* New York: Harper & Bros., 1944, p. 66.

[15] James Davie, *Education and Social Stratification,* Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University Library, New Haven, 1951, describes these differences in one American city.

children would seek more education if the family financial situation made it possible.   Bell found that socio-economic factors including "lack of money" were the most important reasons for children's dropping out of school.[16]   This becomes more understandable when we realize that "free" American education is not entirely free. Harold C. Hand found that even in the thirties attendance at a number of public high schools required an average cash outlay of $125 per year.[17]   Of course it is possible in many schools for a child to

TABLE IV.   **Percentage of 1,023 Milwaukee high-school graduates with an I.Q. of 117 or above who were in college full time in relation to the family income.**[18]

Parental income	Per cent in college
$8,000 and over	100.0
5,000–7,999	92.0
3,000–4,999	72.9
2,000–2,999	44.4
1,500–1,999	28.9
1,000–1,499	25.5
500– 999	26.8
under 500	20.4
All cases	34.5

attend with little or no outlay of funds, but this usually means he will not be able to participate in many of the activities considered important by his peers.   Dropping out of school may be less humiliating than being excluded from class activities and clubs.   The financial factor is even more important in determining college attendance.   The analysis of the college attendance of a sample of superior high-school graduates in Milwaukee, shown in Table IV, demonstrates that ability to do college work is not the only criterion which determines college attendance.

[16] Howard M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story,* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1938, pp. 64 ff.

[17] Harold C. Hand, *General Education in the American High School,* Chicago: Scott Foresman & Co., 1938, pp. 17–20.   This study was carried on by a committee of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

[18] Helen B. Goetsch, "Parental Income and College Opportunities," *Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 795,* New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, Bureau of Publications, 1940, p. 87.   Reprinted by permission.

Class differences in type of education.   The expansion of the secondary school through the attendance of youth from all class levels and interests has presented another source of class differentiation.   The early high-school curriculum was designed for the predominantly higher-class youth who expected to enter the professions.   The traditional classical curriculum was not well adapted to the tremendous numbers from all levels who came into the secondary schools with the advent of compulsory education.   New curricula were designed to meet the needs of those who did not intend to go on to college and professional schools.   The resulting curricula have a variety of content and titles.   Among these are commercial, general, vocational, and homemaking.

TABLE V.   **Percentage of each social class in Yankee City High School enrolled in each of four curricula.[19]**   (*The upper-upper-class youth in this community attended private schools.*)

Curriculum	SOCIAL CLASS				
	Lower Upper	**Upper Middle**	**Lower Middle**	**Upper Lower**	**Lower Lower**
Latin	25	68	16	21	12
Science	75	19	11	25	14
General	0	7	18	22	20
Commercial	0	5	55	32	54

Research has shown that these curricula are differentiated in terms of the social class of the students who enroll in each.   Warner and Lunt found there were sharp differences among the class enrollments in the four curricula in Yankee City.   Of the four courses, the Latin and science were considered appropriate for the lower-upper and upper-middle-class youth, while the general and commercial were regarded as better suited for the lower-middle and lower classes.   The upper-upper-class youth in Yankee City apparently did not find the offerings of the public schools appropriate to their position in the community, for they obtained their high-school education in private schools.[20]   In this school system the Latin and science curricula were considered suitable preparation

[19] Adapted from Warner and Lunt, *op cit.*, p. 364.   By permission.
[20] W. Lloyd Warner and Paul Lunt, *The Social Life of the Modern Community*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941, pp. 426–427.

for college.   The distribution by social class in relation to the curricula is shown in Table V.

Many have felt that the relatively rigid class lines reflected in the schools of Yankee City would not be observable in more recently settled communities.   Hollingshead, however, found much the same differentiation in Midwestern Elmtown.[21]   The college preparatory curriculum is most likely to be taken by higher-status youth.   The significant correlation, indicated by the distribution in Table VI, between class position and curricula is sufficient evidence to show that the relationship is present in other sections of the country.   Furthermore, it seems that "the prestige bias in the different courses

TABLE VI.   **Percentage of each social class in Elmtown High School enrolled in each of three curricula.**[22]

Curriculum	SOCIAL CLASS*			
	I–II	**III**	**IV**	**V**
College preparatory	64	27	9	4
General	36	51	58	58
Commercial	0	21	33	38

* The classification here is similar to that found in Yankee City.   Elmtown was also studied by Warner and Associates.

is particularly clear among the girls." [23]   One Elmtown senior gave a concise description of the class orientation of the various curricula.

If you take the college preparatory course, you're better than those who take the general course.   Those who take a general course are neither here nor there.   If you take a commercial course, you don't rate.   It's a funny thing, those who take college preparatory set themselves up as better than the other kids.   Those that take the college preparatory course run the place.   I remember when I was a freshman, mother wanted me to take home economics, but I didn't want to.   I knew I couldn't rate.   You could take typing and shorthand and still rate, but if you took a straight commercial course, you couldn't rate.

You see you're rated by the teacher according to the course you take.   They rate you in the first six weeks.   The teachers type you

[21] A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth,* New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949, pp. 168 ff.   These excerpts and subsequent tables are reprinted by permission.

[22] Adapted from A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth, op. cit.,* p. 462.   Reprinted by permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

[23] *Ibid.,* p. 168.

in a small school and you're made in classes before you get there. College preparatory kids get good grades and the others take what's left. The teachers get together and talk, and if you are not in college preparatory, you haven't got a chance.[24]

This high-school senior would find it rather difficult to adjust to the general or commercial course if she were straining to acquire high status or if she were a member of a high-status family. Even more difficult might be the adjustment of her parents if they felt as she does. Many cases suggest that attitudes toward curricula are transmitted to the child from the parents. Most of the parental group who attended high school took what was essentially a college preparatory course. They attach high status to this curriculum, for it presumably leads to a higher level of training. Parents who envision high-status positions for their children generally insist on their enrolling in the college preparatory course. These parents may consider the general curriculum satisfactory for the children who are not likely to go to college and may even believe that lower-status children should be directed into such programs. Yet, they insist their own children must prepare for college regardless of academic ability.

In addition to the parents, the teachers also provide the model for status differentiation between curricula. Teachers, except some in trade or vocational schools, have always had college training, and they place high value on the type of education which enabled them to attain their positions. It is therefore not unusual for the teacher of English, mathematics, languages, or science to look with disdain on both the teachers and students in the vocational courses. They may regard these students as inferior in both ability and status to those who concentrate in their fields of interest. Although the teacher of vocational subjects may have a somewhat different view, many of them consider their students inferior. Frequently a vocational teacher can command a higher salary because fewer persons are willing to accept positions in which they are expected to teach the lower-status courses. It is not unusual for cleavage to develop between the two groups of teachers over differences in status and salary. These disagreements and the differential evaluation of curricula made by teachers are readily recognized by the students.

[24] A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth, op. cit.,* pp. 169–170. Reprinted by permission.

In many high schools both the student body and the teaching staff are so small in number that there is little variation in the curricula taken by the different students. In such schools all the pupils in a given age-grade group are enrolled in essentially the same courses. The patterns of interaction among these students and the prestige evaluation of courses are more likely to cut across class lines.[25] This does not mean there are no other bases for class distinction in such schools, but to some extent it decreases the likelihood of making the distinction on the basis of curriculum.

Educational aptitude and class level. Many maintain that the differences in education provided for the secondary-school youth are necessary because they are based on the inherent differences in aptitude. Some teachers and other persons assume that the lower-class youth are incapable of scholastic work of a satisfactory calibre. "It's only what you would expect of him. He is one of that no-good —————— family which lives down on River Street," is fairly typical of the comments of teachers concerning the school work of lower-status children. The case of John and the attitude of the principal toward him illustrate this school situation.

John's mother supported the family by her work as a domestic. His father was considered by some people too ill to work and by others lazy. John had an average I.Q., but his school grades were below average. He demonstrated interest and ability in art, but in most high-school subjects he showed little interest and avoided participation in the class activities as much as possible. The teachers usually interpreted this as stupidity and wrote him off as unworthy of their efforts.

The behavior that verified to the principal that John was typical of the "no-good" family from which he came was his relatively frequent absences from school. John explained these absences as being necessary for him to work. The principal had assumed that the family knew of his absences. On one occasion, however, he called at the home and learned that the mother did not know of his absence from school. The principal soon found John working as a caddy at the golf course. In response to his inquiry, John gave the principal the usual reason for his absence. When confronted

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[25] See Roger G. Barker, Herbert F. Wright, Jack Nall, and Phil Schoggen, "There Is No Class Bias in Our School," *Progressive Education,* Vol. 27, 1950, pp. 106–110.

with the fact that his mother did not know of his absence, John explained that he gave his mother money from this source and his paper route, but that if his father knew that he earned additional money he would be left with none of the money which he earned. After hearing this explanation the principal demanded that the coach dismiss John from the athletic team, and he expelled him from school for a short period.   When John was thus disposed of, the principal commented to several teachers that he hoped John never came back and "the quicker he gets in the reform school the better off the school and the community will be."

Of course there were teachers in John's school who thought he should have received different treatment from the principal.   Since the school was oriented primarily toward the college preparation of the upper-middle-class youth, there was a general disregard of John and others like him in the classrooms.   Furthermore, the grades which he received were taken as incontrovertible evidence that he was inferior in mental ability.   Such a concept of the abilities of lower-status children is not uncommon among teachers.

There is little doubt that the distribution of school grades is related to the class level of the family.   Hollingshead found, for example, that there were more than twice as many superior grades among higher-class youth than would be expected by chance.[26] The distribution of grades which he found in Elmtown High School is shown in Table VII.   The failures in Elmtown high-school courses also indicate social-class difference.   In one year 23 per

TABLE VII.   **Distribution of grades in Elmtown High School by social class of family.**[27]

Social class	Percentage with mean grade of		
	85–100	70–84	50–69
I and II	51.4	48.6	00.0
III	35.5	63.2	1.3
IV	18.4	69.2	12.4
V	8.3	66.7	25.0
All Classes	23.8	66.3	9.9

[26] Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–173.
[27] A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth, op. cit.*, p. 172.   Reprinted by permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

cent of the youth in class V failed, while less than 3 per cent of those from the top three classes failed.

Although the intelligence test scores of the Elmtown students, as shown in Table VIII, show some relationship between social class and Intelligence Quotient, they do not explain the high proportion of failures among the lower-class youth.

TABLE VIII.   **Intelligence test scores (I.Q.) in Elmtown High School by social classes of students' families.**[28]

Scores	SOCIAL CLASS OF FAMILY BY PERCENTAGE			
	I and II	III	IV	V
120–139	23	13	5	0
111–119	43	47	36	12
91–110	34	39	56	77
70– 90	0	1	3	11

Less than 12 per cent of the class V youth in school had below normal intelligence scores as compared to the 23 per cent who failed courses and the 25 per cent who received low grades.

Evidence from other communities indicate similar differences in the intelligence scores of the children.   Havighurst and Janke found both ten- and sixteen-year-old youth from the lower class had lower I.Q.'s as measured by the Stanford-Binet and other tests than the same age children from the higher-class groups.[29]   Similar differences were found for all other tests given, including reading and mechanical aptitude, except for the Minnesota Mechanical Assembly test when given to sixteen-year-old boys.   In this case the lower-class boys slightly excelled the higher-status groups.

Although it is evident that the commonly used tests indicate that the children of higher-class families have higher intelligence, much doubt has been expressed concerning the reasons for this superiority. The wide acceptance of the intelligence tests has been based in part on the early assumption that they measured native ability.   Later, when it was discovered that identical twins reared in differing en-

[28] *Ibid.,* p. 175.   Reprinted by permission.
[29] Robert Havighurst and Leota Long Janke, "Relations Between Ability and Social Status, in a Midwestern Community: I. Ten-Year-Old Children," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* Vol. 35, pp. 356–368, 1944, and "II. Sixteen-Year-Old Boys and Girls," *ibid.,* Vol. 26, 1945, pp. 499–509.   Also reported in Allison Davis, *Social Class Influence on Learning,* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949.

vironments had different I.Q.'s, and that children whose learning environment was changed sometimes improved their intelligence ratings, this assumption was questioned. The common intelligence tests measure not only native ability to learn, but also the achievement of the individual in learning the kind of operations sampled in the tests. If all those who respond to the test have had similar opportunity and motivation to learn the operations involved, the observed differences may be assumed to result from differences in native ability. Where these conditions do not prevail, differences in Intelligence Quotient may just as likely be due to the differences in the opportunity and motivation to learn the items in the tests.

This immediately raises the question of the relative learning opportunities and motivation of the children from higher- and lower-class families. Are the differences in test scores caused by variations in native ability or by differences in the learning environment? That is, do the children in all classes have the same opportunity and motivation to learn the same things, particularly those things included in the intelligence tests?

The likelihood of a bias in the intelligence tests is great because of the fact that the majority of persons who have developed such instruments have lived in an upper-middle-class urban society. Unless stringent scientific techniques are used, test-makers are likely to include items considered important in their own culture and to use the vocabulary that is commonly used by them. Allison Davis [30] and others presented evidence which demonstrated that widely used intelligence tests are biased in favor of middle-class children. The basis of this bias is illustrated by the terminology used. In one item the child is expected to be familiar with the term "sonata." Such words are often heard in the higher-bracket homes, but seldom in those of the lower class. In this case 78 per cent of the high socio-economic group answered correctly, but only 28 per cent of the lower group did so. In another case where acquaintance with the term "cutting tool" was expected, the percentage answering correctly was practically identical for the two groups.

There may be considerable difference in the native ability of the children of the various social classes, but at the same time their interest in, and motivation to excel in, the typical school curriculum may also vary widely. There is ample evidence in the experience of

[30] Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–46.

every teacher to demonstrate that many children from lower-strata families display little interest in the school program although they may have superior ability.   Havighurst estimates from his studies that only about half of the lower-class and lower-middle-class youth who possess the ability to do college work would go to college if given financial assistance.[31]   Such evidence indicates that much of the learning activity of the typical school fails to attract the youth from the lower strata.   This may be due either to differences in native ability, or to the absence of motivation for learning such activities or to a combination of both.

In a later chapter we will note that the school emphasizes a rather narrow range of mental activities selected from those highly valued by the middle class.   Among the types of behavior emphasized are verbal skills and the codes regarding property and sex which are commonly held in the middle class.   For many lower-class children, such codes diverge sharply from values learned in their families and play groups.   The rewards and punishments of the school are frequently attached to activities which have reverse significance for the classes from which the children come.

The teacher may reward a student for the fluent display of reading skill, but the lower-class child's family and play group may punish the "bookworm" as impractical and lazy.   Early heterosexual experience may be highly regarded in the lower-class child's peer group, but severely condemned by the middle-class group.   These differences do not mean that such a child has less ability to learn the culture that nurtures him, but rather that his cultural background is different.   It does not emphasize the same habits, skills or values, or demand the solution of the same problems that the middle-class culture does.

For John, to whom we referred above, to miss an occasional day of school was unimportant when compared to earning some money for himself when his family needed every penny it could get for mere subsistence.   The fact that his mother did not know that he missed school was unimportant to both him and her.   For the principal, however, it was a serious breach of the rules.

The problems that John met and, in his way, solved, no doubt

[31] Robert J. Havighurst, "The Significance of Research on Social Structure for Public Education," unpublished paper presented to the American Sociological Society, New York, Dec. 1949.

required mental abilities equal to those required to solve problems presented to his middle-class schoolmates. These were not primarily the ones presented by the school, and neither were the solutions provided by the textbooks. It is, therefore, not surprising that John did not return to school after he was expelled. Neither is it surprising that the principal gave him no encouragement to return.

Many teachers cater to children from the higher strata,[32] as the case of John implies. It is, however, a mistake to assume that this is a conscious bias. The history of American education is filled with instances of teachers who have made special efforts to help lower-class children to achieve the accepted educational goals. Teachers, perhaps more than any other middle-class occupational group, seek to understand the motivations, interests, and habits of the lower-class children. These same teachers are, however, the exhibitors of middle-class culture — they are neither free of class bias nor neutral with regard to class. They have habits, beliefs, and skills which they value just as other people value their own cultures. For the most part, the values of teachers have been acquired by association with middle-class people. For this reason the expectations of the teachers and the curriculum they teach have a strong cultural bias favorable to the middle class. So long as the teachers are primarily socialized or acculturated in the middle class, the values of this stratum are likely to characterize the school.

It has been maintained by Barker and others [33] that in small communities teachers know the social background of the children well, and being members of the community themselves, are in a position to take into account this knowledge and thus eliminate class bias. Such schools also usually provide the same curriculum and other experiences for all the youth. They may, therefore, be less class-oriented than larger schools. On the other hand, teachers in this situation may be more controlled by the community's definition of the behavior expected in each stratum. The child of the family generally known as "no-count" may have more difficulties assuming middle-class roles in such a school than in one where he would lose his identity to a greater extent.

To the extent that teachers are consciously able to overcome their cultural bias — and this is considerable in many cases —

[32] Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, pp. 180 ff.   [33] Barker, *et al., op. cit.*, p. 110.

they may adapt the school-learning situation to the differences in cultural background of their pupils. Numerous teachers have been influenced by the educational philosophy that the school activities should be adapted to the interests of the child rather than to the demands of the middle-class curriculum. Through this influence much change has occurred, particularly in the elementary school. One reason for the acceptance of the child-centered curriculum in the elementary school is that the differentiation between higher and lower classes is less acute at this level. Here all are expected to receive the same training, and there is little need to differentiate in terms of anticipated adult roles. On the secondary-school level, however, the traditional academic curriculum still dominates.

When the child reaches the adolescent period, both the student and the parents become aware that the school is a factor in the differentiation process which distinguishes upper- and middle-class children from those of the lower strata. If the parents feel that the school is not giving their children the type of curriculum, recognition, or position of leadership that their family status deserves, strong pressure may be applied to the teachers and school administrators to force compliance with the wishes of the higher-status group. Numerous administrators have reported that middle-class parents demand that their children be given the lead in the school play, be permitted to play first violin in the orchestra, be made captain of the football team, or be awarded the scholarship to the state university instead of some lower-class child who may also have ability to fill the positions. The middle-class parents seldom, if ever, demand that their son or daughter replace the son or daughter of a higher-class family in such positions, even though they may think their own better qualified.

The teacher's or administrator's position in the community is seldom such that he can resist the pressure from the higher-status families. This inability to withstand pressure is frequently reflected in the school official's rationalization regarding the superior ability of the youth who will be accorded higher social recognition regardless of ability. Doubtless also, the grading system is affected by possible pressure as well as by the usual feeling that the upper-middle-class youth is superior. Hollingshead comments on the competence of teachers in this regard:

The one teacher who had been in the high school more than four years was highly regarded by the parents in classes I and II, but hated and distrusted by many in classes III and IV. They were convinced that she graded with "one eye on the social register and the other on her own advantage." An old lady, often referred to as the most powerful person in Elmtown, once told us, with reference to this teacher, that the town was very fortunate to be able to keep Miss X. "She is such a wonderful teacher. She teaches every child in a different way; she knows each one's background and treats it accordingly." [34]

CLASS DIFFERENCES IN SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

The assumption of superior abilities among the higher classes sometimes extends to the various extracurricular activities of the school. Although the evidence is relatively meager, studies do indicate that participation in the various activities such as musical groups, athletics, school paper and yearbook, and in numerous clubs is class-oriented. The nature of the relationship to class varies from one school to another. In some, membership in the Hi-Y club or the Y-Teen Girls may be restricted to the higher-class boys and girls, while in another school such organizations may be avoided by these groups. Similar patterns may determine the participation of the youth in student government, class parties, attendance at school functions, and the informal clique relations. The extent to which this is true determines the extent to which the school provides distinctly different types of experience for children with varying class origins. For this reason it is important to recognize the nature of the differentiation that has been found in some of the schools studied.

Class differences in extracurricular activities. In most high schools and to a lesser extent in the elementary schools, the activities which are most visible to the public are the out-of-classroom or extracurricular activities such as band, orchestra, choruses, athletic teams, dramatic productions, and similar groups that present public performances. To a large extent, the quality of the school is judged by the satisfaction the patrons receive from the entertainment of

[34] A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth, op. cit.,* pp. 184–185. Reprinted by permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

such groups.   School officials must be prepared to make the best possible impression through these activities.

Consequently, this frequently places the coach or director in a difficult position.   He wants the group to perform well; in fact his tenure may depend on such performances.   At the same time, however, higher-status parents who occupy powerful positions in the community often expect their boys or girls to be on the team, in the band, or to have the leading part in the school play.   If the quality of the performance is not likely to be seriously affected by the inclusion of such youth, the decision of the teacher is easy, especially from the point of view of his own security.   When the use of a higher-status boy who is an inferior player might mean the loss of an important game, the decision is not so easy for the coach to make.

It is not uncommon for the teacher to be spared this type of decision because of the patterns of participation referred to above. Members of cliques frequently make it clear that certain types of students are not expected or wanted in particular activities.   The situation with regard to athletic teams is quite varied, but nonetheless clearly understood.   The writer analyzed one school group which included relatively few middle-class youth.   In this case the athletic teams were composed almost entirely of lower-class boys. The few middle-class boys usually did not seek positions on the teams, and when they did they were generally treated rather roughly by the accepted members.   On the other hand the middle-class boys dominated such activities as the school publication, debate teams, school plays, and the student council.

In another school, which enrolled a much higher proportion of middle-class youth, the athletic teams presented the reverse class composition.   Here, when faced with the choice of being editor of the school annual or a substitute on the basketball team, a middle-class boy chose the latter.   In this school lower-class boys rarely made the team.   Most did not try; those who did usually failed to crash the closed social group of middle-class boys.   One year two boys from working-class families made the ten-member basketball squad, but they were never included in the off-the-court activities of the remainder of the group.

In still another school various athletic teams had different class orientation.   The basketball players were predominantly middle class, while football attracted the lower-class students.   Few boys

participated in both major sports. Frequently there was a sharp cleavage between the two squads. In contrast to these examples, Hollingshead reports that "athletics attracts boys from all classes in about the same proportion" in Elmtown.[35]

It is impossible to conclude from these cases that athletes come predominantly from higher-status families. These examples indicate considerable variation from school to school. Youmans, however, found that a significantly higher proportion of twelfth-grade boys from white-collar families participated in athletics than did the manual workers' or farmers' sons.[36] This conclusion, based on a sample of Michigan high schools, indicates a correlation between class position and participation in athletics. Lower-class boys with superior athletic ability certainly have an opportunity to participate in sports in many if not in all schools. In Michigan, at least, the probability of participation in athletics is greater among the white-collar youth.

According to these data, the common belief that athletes are lower-class toughs who are too stupid to do academic work of high quality is far from true. In the second school referred to on page 99, the athletes were, on the average, far superior as measured by school grades. Other evidence supports the hypothesis that athletes are not different from other students in school achievement.[37] In some cases the desire to participate may urge the youth to higher levels of academic performance. When such motivation is present in lower-status youth and the opportunity is available, athletics may provide an avenue for crossing the class barriers.

There is little evidence concerning class orientation among participants in other types of out-of-class activities. The limited evidence available indicates that musical activities, dramatics, debating, and school publications are generally dominated by the higher-status youth at the secondary-school level. Middle-class parents have more frequently participated in such activities and are more likely to place high value on them than are those in the lower strata.

[35] Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

[36] E. Grant Youmans, *An Appraisal of the Social Factors in the Work Attitudes and Interest of a Representative Sample of 12th-Grade Michigan Boys,* Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State College Library, East Lansing, Mich., 1952.

[37] Dorothy Eaton and J. R. Shannon, "College Careers in High-School Athletes and Nonathletes," *School Review,* Vol. 42, pp. 356–361; and J. R. Shannon, "Scores in English of High School Athletes," *School Review,* Vol. 46, 1938, pp. 128–130.

Furthermore, these groups are more likely to provide private tutoring and to give other assistance that may improve the quality of performance in such activities.

Hollingshead found a strong class bias among the participants in musical activities as well as in all other extracurricular activities when they are considered as a unit.[38]   This is shown in Table IX. It is possible that the grouping of numerous clubs and other activities into a common participation pattern may obscure some of

TABLE IX.   **Percentage of Elmtown students participating in all extracurricular activities by social class of family.[39]**

Social Class	Participation	Nonparticipation
I and II	100	00
III	75	25
IV	57	43
V	27	73
All Classes	66	34

the most distinctive patterns of discrimination.   While higher-status youth may participate in *more* activities, it may also be clearly understood in many schools that if lower-class students are to participate in any activities they must limit their choice.   This is illustrated by the situation in one school where only the daughters of the elite sought places in the select girls' choir, but members of the Home Economics club were recruited exclusively from the lower strata. The elite girls had access to several other clubs to which the Home Economists never expected to belong.   Although in Elmtown the total participation would in this case be related to status, such an analysis would not reveal the differences in kind of participation.

Class differences in informal group participation.   Several studies have been made of the structure of cliques and the friendships of junior- and senior high-school as well as college groups.[40]   In gen-

38 Hollingshead, *op. cit.,* pp. 199–203.
39 A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth, op. cit.,* p. 201.   Reprinted by permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
40 *Ibid.,* pp. 204–242; Stendler, *op. cit.,* pp. 41–51; Bernice Neugarten, "Social Class and Friendship Among School Children," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 51, 1946, pp. 305–313; Lloyd Allen Cook, "Experimental Sociographic Study of a Stratified 10th-Grade Class," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 10, 1945, pp. 250–261; Orden Smucker "Prestige Status on a College Campus," *Journal of Applied Anthropology,* Vol. 6, pp. 20–27.

eral, when students are asked to indicate choices of friends among their schoolmates, they select children from the same or higher-status level than their own. This means that the higher-status youth are selected as friends much more frequently than those from the lower strata; the latter are rarely selected by anyone outside their own class level. Stendler found some variations in choices in the elementary grades among age-grade groups and in terms of the nature of the question asked. When a choice was made of a child to sit near in school, there was more tendency to cross class lines than when the child was being selected as a companion for an out-of-school activity. Other studies suggest that the patterns of class differentiation in friendship choices are pretty well established at the secondary-school level.

It must be recognized that many higher-status youth frequently do not choose lower-strata youth who have selected them in the formal paper-pencil selection. This suggests that the actual patterns of associations may be decidedly different than the verbal choices would indicate. The child who chooses a higher-status schoolmate as a friend may actually consider the chosen person his friend. In this case the chooser might well be shocked to know that he was not selected in return. On the other hand, such choices indicate a desire to associate with the higher-status members. In this case the effort to improve one's social position may motivate the chooser to select a person who is not at that time an intimate, but whose friendship is anticipated in the future. Some choice of this type may be in recognition of leadership roles of such youth. Actual observation of the cliques reveal that, although class position is significant in the determination of informal groups, many cliques include children from two or more adjacent class levels. They seldom include children from the two extremes of class position. For example, Hollingshead found that three out of five clique relations were within a single class group and that only one out of twenty-five crossed more than one class line.[41] An analysis of high- and low-status cliques will be found in Chapter 8.

Adolescent clique patterns are generally reflected in the dating relationships between the sexes. In many schools the various boy and girl cliques are equated in terms of status, and the members are rapidly oriented to the group expectations as to dating prac-

[41] Hollingshead, *op. cit.,* p. 212.

tices. Numerous reports from college campuses indicate that sororities and fraternities frequently expect their members to discriminate against the independents on campus. These groups and other cliques are often class-oriented. At the high-school level Hollings-
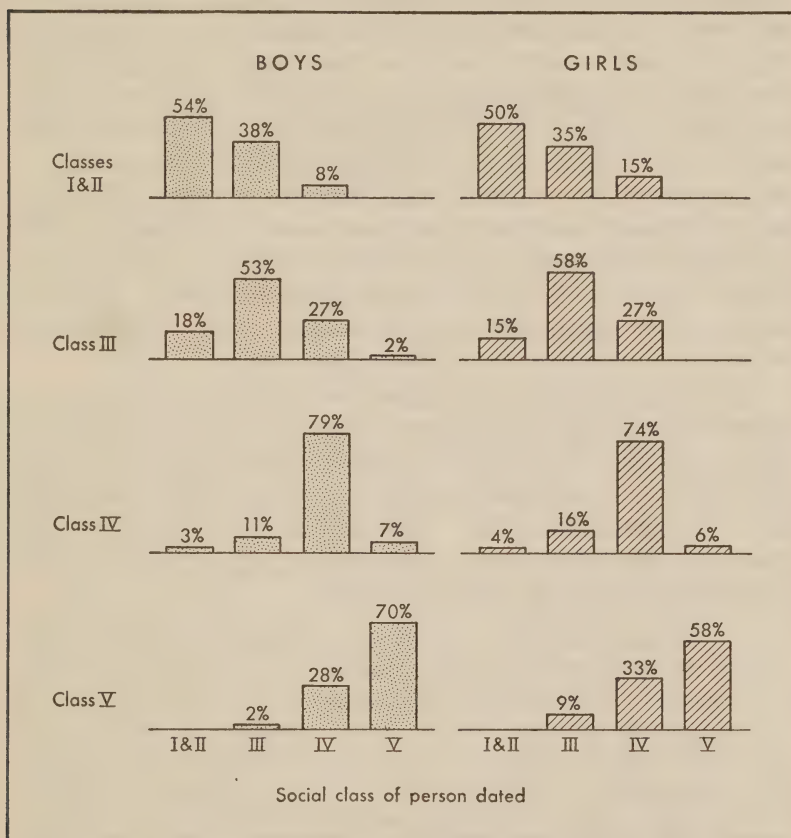
FIGURE 4. **Intraclass and interclass dating patterns of Elmtown boys and girls, April 1942.** (From A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., p. 231. Reprinted by permission.)

head found the dating relationships were also related to the class identity of the family. The majority of dates at all class levels occurred between class equals.[42] (See Figure 4.) It is apparent that the class orientation of the interaction among the school youth

[42] Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, pp. 227 ff.

includes the attachments between the sexes as well as the friend-
ships within either sex category.

Class membership and leadership.   There is little evidence on
which to base an opinion concerning the relative class status of
the members of informal groups and their leaders.   Lower-class
cliques as well as middle- or upper-class groups have some mem-
bers who tend to influence the group's behavior more than others.
It is possible that the bases for leadership may be decidedly differ-
ent in school cliques at various class levels.   For leadership the
middle-class clique may look to the members who have the greater
facility in the activities traditionally emphasized in the school.   The
lower-status cliques may, on the other hand, follow the suggestions
of those members who display greater physical prowess.   These are
only plausible hypotheses, since the patterns of informal leadership
in the school have been the subject of little study.

The formal leaders in the school society are identified with the
higher-status groups in larger proportion than chance would dictate.
This is true even in the case of elected representatives, where the
lower-status groups could, because of their larger numbers, elect
their own members to office.   This does not prevent an occasional
lower-class youth from receiving widespread support for some office.
This is illustrated in the case of Edward:

> Edward attended a school whose student body was predomi-
> nantly of lower-class origin.   During his years in high school, like
> many of his classmates, Edward had to adjust to the fact that his
> father was sometimes out of work.   Although his father was an
> honest and respected worker, everyone knew that he had only a
> semi-skilled job with the railroad, and that the family had received
> assistance from the welfare department at various times.   The fam-
> ily had moved to a respectable working-class neighborhood in re-
> cent years, but many of Edward's friends, as well as his habits, had
> been acquired in a lower-lower section of town.
>
> Participation in athletics and interest in a girl from a slightly
> higher-status family had motivated Edward to remain in school and
> to maintain an average scholastic record.   His skill as an athlete
> and participation in other activities gradually extended Edward's
> range of associations, while he remained identified with the lower-
> status group.
>
> By the time Edward was a senior, the middle-class clique that

had dominated the activities of this group had lost some of its power.   When this occurred Edward's favorable image as an athlete and student resulted in his election as president of the senior class.

Although Edward's is not an isolated case, it must be recognized that it represents the unusual rather than the common occurrence in America's high schools.

TABLE X.   **Class distribution of elected representatives in Elmtown High School, compared to the class distribution of the student body.**[43]

Social class	Per cent of student body	Per cent of elected representatives
I–II	9.0	21.6
III	37.3	46.2
IV	47.0	32.3
V	6.7	00.0

Greater skill in social relations, confidence, and support of the school staff generally result in the selection of a disproportionate share of higher-status youth for formal positions of leadership. (See Table X.)

The extent to which teachers and administrators play a decisive role in the selection of either formal or informal leaders has not been carefully analyzed.   School rules may be designed to bar students with low grades or other unacceptable behavior characteristics from certain leadership positions.   Below average students are frequently ruled ineligible for positions in student government, on the school paper, and for other leader positions.   To the extent that this is true, those students who perform best in the classroom are more likely to be designated as leaders, and higher-status youth generally excel in these activities.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

We have seen that the common goals for education in America are the teaching of democratic ideals, getting ahead and getting a better job, and the hope that education will solve the society's problems and make "this a better place to live in."   These educational

[43] Hollingshead, *op, cit.,* p. 200.   Reprinted by permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

aspirations are related to the expectation that education will func-
tion as an avenue for social mobility in American society.   Cer-
tainly this has been an important aspect of the philosophy sup-
ported by most professional educators.   This ideal, which has long
been associated with the name of Thomas Jefferson, was historically
based on the desire to avoid hereditary classes.   It now applies to
any rigid class system.

Jefferson thought of the widespread opportunity for education
as the best means for avoiding a hardened class structure as well
as for providing a competent democratic electorate.   Most edu-
cators agree with James B. Conant that this ideal is far from real-
ized at present and that in recent decades certain educational forces
have tended to further stratify our society.[44]   Although a classless
society is impossible, conditions may be set up to prevent rigid class
distinctions, so that differences between the classes remain rela-
tively invisible and the ease of mobility from one class to another
is maintained.   All youth who are able to acquire the necessary
skills should also have the opportunity to move into any social po-
sition they choose.   Such an equality of opportunity requires a
provision for a universal acquisition of the skills, habits, and senti-
ments common to all levels of society.   This is one of the functions
of mass education.

As noted in Chapter 3, since 1870 there has been a phenomenal
increase in the proportion of American youth attending school.
Many interpret this development as a guarantee against rigid strati-
fication and as an assurance of a mobile social structure.   The
validity of this position depends on an analysis of the trends in
American social stratification during these decades.   Such an exam-
ination requires a distinction between two types of social mobility.
First, an entire segment of society may change its position in rela-
tion to other segments.   This may be illustrated by the position of
American industrial workers.   Their increase in wages, and the
rise in their general level of living, along with other factors, have
changed the relative position of this group in American society.
The second type of mobility is that of individuals from one stratum
to another.

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[44] James B. Conant, "Public Education and the Structure of American Society,"
Teachers College Record, Vol. 47, 1945, pp. 145–161; also his "General Educa-
tion for Democracy," *ibid.,* pp. 162–178.

There is little doubt that the improvement in the general level of living for the masses of Americans over the past few decades has not produced a major rearrangement of the social structure.   As a rule, positions formerly considered to have lower status still have lower status.   It might be maintained, however, that the social distance between the top and bottom has been reduced.   To the extent that this is true, group mobility has continued and perhaps increased during the great growth in education.

A wide range of social forces including increased production, governmental tax policies, and our democratic ideals have contributed to this social change.   Mass education has also been a major contributor.   The fact that most lower-class as well as upper-class people have a minimum level of literacy reduces greatly their differences.   The former can read some of the same newspapers and magazines and react to many other common symbols.

Trends in individual mobility are less easily determined.   There is some evidence that such social mobility has decreased during the decades that mass education has grown rapidly.[45]   A youth from a working-class family now probably has less opportunity to obtain a junior executive position in a large business than the son of one of its executives, even though the former might have the same level of education and ability.   It is difficult to determine how such opportunities have changed over the years.   It is possible that the masses of people have improved their relative position in society, while the opportunities for individuals to move from lower- to higher-status positions have declined.   Many Americans consider this individual mobility an essential goal of our educational efforts.

Education as an avenue for mobility.   Every teacher and school official can cite illustrations of lower-class youth moving up the social ladder.   Edward, whom we discussed earlier, is now a successful school administrator with a recognized middle-class position in his home community.   There is little doubt that athletic and school achievement is one of the avenues which he and many

[45] See F. A. Taussig and C. S. Joselyn, *American Business Leaders,* New York: Macmillan, 1932, and "The Nine Hundred" *Fortune,* Nov. 1952, p. 132 and *passim*; Percy E. Davidson and H. Dewey Anderson, *Occupational Mobility in an American Community,* Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1937, pp. 163–164; Delbert Miller and William Form, *Industrial Sociology,* New York: Harper & Bros., 1951, pp. 675 ff.; and Stuart Adams, "Trends in the Occupational Origins of Business Leaders," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 19, 1954, pp. 541–548.

others have used for social mobility. The following excerpt from a striking life story illustrates the possibility of individual social mobility.

> When I was a small ragged hobo, sitting on the ground beside a campfire, hungrily licking the fishy oil from the lid of a sardine can as I studied my history lesson, I was beginning already to understand the relationship between public education and personal liberty. . . .
>
> I, perhaps more than most persons, am a product of the public schools. I was born into that unique clan of American gypsies — gypsies by environment and manner of living rather than by blood. You used to find them camped under the bridge or down at the dump or out by the stockyards near almost any small Southern town. . . . Mostly they traveled from town to town peddling novelties, trading horses, sharpening scissors or making keys.
>
> Mine was a rustic furniture family. That is, dad made chairs, tables and novelties from young willows which grew by the river.
>
> Along the well-kept streets of middle-class neighborhoods where most of our peddling was done, I met many children, and the contrast which I made to them I could hardly fail to notice. They looked so clean and cared for — so smooth, I used to think. My thick, too-curly hair was a mass of snarls which went for days without combing. My dress was usually dirty and never ironed. How I wanted to be like the children who played in the pretty yards! *How can I be like them?* I asked myself desperately. *How can I ever be like people who live in houses?*
>
> That is why I began to notice school buildings, I think. There were so many children around school buildings. The school kids stared and laughed and threw sticks. They pointed at my high-laced canvas shoes which had cost fifty cents at the dime store. School kids wore regular leather shoes. Nice oxfords or shiny black shoes with straps. They laughed most of all at my shoes.
>
> But somehow I was never angry at them. I could see for myself why they laughed. It seemed to me that school kids had a right to laugh at a dirty camper kid who peddled baskets and wore no stockings with tattered canvas shoes.
>
> School kids. Perhaps I had found the secret. Perhaps school made the difference between rubber bums like us and people who lived in houses. The idea became an obsession, so that by the time I was six years old I had developed a philosophy: You will not be a camper always if you go to school and get real smart.

Anybody can be clean and smooth and live in a nice house if he is smart. And school can make you smart. . . .

Schools I had learned were free, and every child was supposed to go. . . . Of course the idea of school was not so inviting to dad. It meant staying awhile in one place, and that was not too good for the rustic business. So for two years after I was old enough to begin school I was not allowed to go, and I lived in a state of constant longing and frustration. I would peek into the windows of empty schoolrooms. Sometimes after school hours I would slip furtively inside the building for a fleeting glimpse of a classroom and some books. I would touch a desk wonderingly with my finger tips and stare fascinated at the blackboard.

Then the big day came in that unexpected, unplanned manner which seems to rule the destiny of vagabonds. . . . There was to be a pioneer celebration at the old fort, and some of the campers were carnival people. They persuaded my folks to make paper flowers and rustic novelties for prizes at their booths. Soon several families of campers had organized into quite a layout of concessions, and it looked as though we would be at the fort for several weeks.

"I'm going to send my children into town to the consolidated school," I heard one of the women tell my mother. "There's a school bus comes right out here on the highway. Why don't you send your girls?"

"Oh, yes, mother, do, please! Oh, please do!" I interrupted excitedly, clapping my hands and dancing about until I almost upset the kettle of mush on the campfire. "Please let us go to school!"

Somehow like a miracle there were new dresses. There were long red pencils, fat yellow tablets and a little lard pail with nail holes punched through the lid to let air in to the fried-dough-and-side-pork sandwiches. . . .

We stood quietly in a hall watching mothers and pupils and teachers scurry in all directions. Just as I was beginning to feel uncontrollable panic there was a bell, a sudden rush, and then we were alone in the hall. We went through the open door of a classroom and announced to the teacher, "We'd like to go to school here, please."

"Of course, girls," she said in a matter-of-fact tone which put us at ease. "I will take you to the office."

The lady smiled and was kind. She did not seem to care that we were camper kids. She said she was glad to have us in the school. And I knew she really was.

Soon I had a room and a teacher. I had some books and crayons. And most wonderful of all, I had a desk. A certain special place which was mine — just like each other desk. When I sat there I was equal to anyone else. I had the same materials and the same opportunities. Outside they could jeer at my clothes and laugh because I lived in a tent. They could follow me with cutting taunts when I peddled on the streets. But when I sat at my desk in school no one could laugh at me. I had found the secret key to equality and achievement. I had found the magic place where money and clothes and houses did not count. So long as I sat at the desk and learned my lessons well, I could be free of the sickening inferiority which accepted with morbid understanding the slights and cruelties of others. I could be, yes, even superior. Some of the clean, smooth children did not do so well in school. Next time they called me a dirty gypsy it would not hurt me so. Perhaps I could get even a little angry with them, and say to myself, *Who do they think they are? What's so grand about leather shoes anyway? After all I get better grades than they in spelling*. And then I would not bleed so much inside.

There were many schools as the years went by. . . . Every school held for me a mystical secret beauty. Every school was my personal friend. It wanted me. There were laws that said so. It wanted to make me smart and pretty and smooth, like the people who lived in houses. And in each town I strolled serenely up to the school building, almost forgetting that I was a camper. I found a teacher and said again, as I had on that first day, "I would like to go to school here, please."

Without exception, I was greeted with kindness. Of course there were some startled exclamations, some smiles and some slightly irritated mutters. . . . And always there were questions.

"No address?"

"No transfer from previous school?"

"No report card? Have you studied long division?"

"No, sir, but I belong in the fourth grade. Just put me in the class and let me try it. If I can't do the work, you can put me back a grade, can't you?"

All this talk of poorly-trained, underpaid teachers, striving for the privilege of becoming mechanical robots enslaved by some insensitive assembly line for a good union wage per hour, cannot drive from my mind the memory of the teachers who have shaped my life. There was Miss Williams, kind and motherly, who let me stay in at recess and water her plants. She had found me hiding

in the fire escape. Miss Williams saw me through the window and let me climb over the windowsill as though we were playing a game. She did not scold, but rather laughed with me about it. She did not ask a question, but always after that she had some work for me to do at recess. I understood her motive, and yet it did not crush my spirit to accept her favor. I felt that she knew I understood and we shared a plot together. . . .

Teachers believed in me. They seemed to expect good things from me. The local children shunned me because I was a dirty gypsy. The camper kids called me smarty and stuck-up because I liked school and would not dip snuff or chew on cigarette butts. Even my parents mocked me, ridiculed my "highfalutin ways" and laughed at me for "trying to be like those nasty nice school-teachers." But the teachers seemed to know me as I was. They could see the spirit flickering dimly within that tattered caricature of childhood. They cared enough to fan the trembling flames.

At last there came that torrid, shimmering afternoon when our old Model A Ford puffed and steamed across the dried sea bottom of a little valley in Southern California. Could we pick dates? Green beans? Carrots? Should we go inland to Bakersfield and maybe hit some fruit on up the San Joaquin? Or try our luck ped-dling over the coast way? The conversation was listless. Maybe we should flip a coin.

Then I saw the school building. It was sprawled yellow stucco, surrounded by date palms and back-dropped with a row of dusky hills like the stage setting for an operetta. Somehow in that little valley the heat formed a visible mist which wrapped the scene in a soft, sheer, rosy veil. I caught my breath so sharply that the others noticed it.

Dad grinned sardonically, "Billie sees a schoolhouse."

"After all, dad," I defended myself, "It is October, and this is the year I should be in high school." . . .

The next morning I boarded the school bus and went to the yellow stucco school in the date garden. I walked into the build-ing and approached, with my usual request, the first teacher I saw, "I would like to go to school here, please."

I had thought that this registration would be a bit more difficult than usual, since this was high school. I was starting late in the term and I had no record whatsoever of my previous schooling. But, to my surprise, the teacher acted as though she had been ex-pecting me. "Go right through that second door," she said.

In the room I was handed some forms and a pencil and told to

be seated at a long table where several other pupils were filling out forms. There seemed to be a number of new pupils. As I looked about the room I realized that they were the children of migrant workers who had recently followed to California the hope of better jobs and more money. Evidently the school was used for registering transient pupils, and the process had been planned carefully. It had been planned so well, in fact, that the same course of study was offered to all. As I read my schedule card my heart sank: cooking, general math, clothing, English, hygiene. This was a tragedy! I could not just sit here and let it happen with no protest at all! I held up my hand to attract the attention of a teacher.

"Do we have no choice of subjects?" I asked. "I understood that in high school it would be possible for each pupil to choose a course of study."

I was one of a group of transient pupils and no doubt I appeared to be rather insolent. The teacher was busy. Often I have thought she could have brushed me aside. Instead she came and sat by me.

"There are electives," she explained, "but we have arranged this course for you because it is a basic course which we are sure you will find profitable and enjoyable while you are here. It is a little late in the term for you to begin some of the subjects."

"But I can't spend all that time cooking and sewing," I declared. "I must begin training for my career. Already I am older than most pupils in my grade."

"Would you like to speak to the principal?"

"Yes, please, I would."

Not once did she act irritated or scornful, and when she introduced me to the principal, her voice was the voice of a friend.

"What subjects do you have in mind?" the principal asked, and as he spoke he took from his desk a panoramic schedule which seemed to list all the subjects offered by the school. I looked down at the list and scanned it rapidly.

"History, dramatics, English and Spanish," I said.

"And what is this career you are planning for?"

"I want to be either a writer or a radio announcer," I answered without hesitation, "and I want to become qualified to teach journalism and public speaking, so that if I can't make good in either of these fields I can teach them in high school."

The principal puckered his brow, but his eyes grinned, and the teacher choked on a giggle.

"Dramatics is an upper-division elective, and it seems a little

late to start a foreign language." The principal looked at the teacher in such a way that the statement became a question.

"Well, if her English grades have been good and she works hard — "

They called in the teacher of Spanish to ask me a few questions. Then two other teachers came to see me, and the final result was that I was enrolled in history, English, Spanish and even the coveted upper-division dramatics class.

Five months we camped under the tamarack trees and I went to the yellow high school. Dad seemed to like the sunny valley, and we could earn a living by all of us picking dates or beans or carrots and making regular trips to surrounding towns to peddle. I continued to take my baskets from door to door, as I had since early childhood. . . . I hated to peddle, of course, and sometimes I wished desperately for close friends. I longed for pretty clothes and a house as much as I ever had. But I did not think of myself as merely a hobo. I was a freshman who had the leading part in a play at Valley High!

We had to leave the little valley before school was out that spring, but the next fall I had found another high school in another town, and its spirit was the same. In the classroom, on the debate team, on the school-paper staff, and finally in my cherished blue cap and gown as I spoke at commencement exercises, I found freedom and equality which gave me faith and inspired me to try to be what it seemed that my school expected me to be.

Rare, even for an aesthetic adolescent, was the sentiment I experienced as I sat on the platform that night of high-school graduation. I thought of the two-room, unpainted shack out on the highway where my family of eight was staying currently. I thought of all the tents and wagons and campgrounds and worn-out autos. I thought of the dirt and lice and canvas shoes. I looked down at the neat blue-and-white pumps which I was wearing at the moment, and thought of the Clothing Order Form No. 80653 from the local relief agency which had made them possible.

Then I looked at the rows of blue gowns. Two hundred and fifty blue gowns. Young people from wealthy and prominent families in royal blue gowns like mine. I looked at the blue gown next to me. It was worn by the boy who would give his speech just before mine. His dad was director of the welfare agency where I got the clothing order for my shoes.

Suddenly I knew what was meant by "democracy," "free people," "the American way." It was not sickly, sentimental thinking.

It was strong and clear and mature. It was logical. I, an unkempt hobo from nowhere, had in this high school of considerable size and reputation, become the editor of the school paper, and then of the yearbook. I had served on the varsity debate team. I had been president of the scholarship federation and a member of the student council. . . .

It may have been that some kind fate had led me to the right school, and the undesirable teachers wise destiny had withheld from my acquaintance. But the fact was indisputable still, that school could make the difference. How unlimited could be the effects of proper education!

. . . I looked down at the notes of my speech: What East High Has Meant to Me. Childish. Inadequate. Someday I would write a real tribute to the teachers and the Public Schools of the United States of America.

Many times since that night I have remembered that vow. I have picked up a pen or sat at the typewriter and tried to think of a fitting tribute. But proper words have never come. There is so little that I can say concretely. Except that I am not a camper now. I am a citizen, clean and smooth, equal to other citizens. And I live in a house.[46]

This story illustrates the fact that intelligent and co-operative lower-class youth are encouraged and helped to improve their status through education. Teachers probably do this more than most other groups in our society. The possibility that her ability would not be recognized is also revealed in the first curriculum assigned to Billie Davis when she enrolled in high school. The proportion for whom the secondary school provides an avenue for mobility in contrast with the proportion for whom it hardens the class identification is not known. It apparently performs each function for some individuals.

Opportunities for mobility depend to a large extent on the teachers who staff the schools. Some teachers may be models of mobility and encourage the youth in their classes to follow in their own path. Others may discourage mobility on the assumption that all lower-class youth lack the abilities required in the middle- or upper-class strata. There is at present no basis for generalizations concerning the impact of teacher models of various social classes on

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[46] Billie Davis, "I Was a Hobo Kid," *Saturday Evening Post,* Dec. 13, 1952, p. 25 and *passim.* Reprinted by permission of the author.

the mobility of youth.[47]   Such knowledge is necessary for a sound analysis of the function of the school in social mobility.

There are various avenues within the high-school experience by which the lower-class youth might gain or at least open the way to higher status. First of all, the child who for one reason or another is stimulated to excel in the academic school subjects, even though he is from a lower-class family, receives special attention from teachers, and may be accepted by the higher-status classmates. Such acceptance may be permanent if the youth acquires rapidly enough the values of the new group. The same process may occur in the case of the youth who acquires particular skill in one of the school activities which are generally staffed by higher-status youth. This may be illustrated by the lower-status athlete who succeeds in making the team whose other members are higher status. Such a youth may develop sufficiently close personal relationships with other members of the team and prestige within the class which they represent to enable him to continue his membership in the higher-status group.

Students who gain higher status in high school through superior academic or athletic records, or through other extracurricular activities are frequently encouraged to continue their education at the college level. If this is possible, the youth may be able to secure the higher position to which he had been introduced in high school.   If further education is not achieved, the youth may discover that the temporary membership he acquired through special abilities in high school has little meaning in the adult roles of the community. Such an experience may cause the individual more frustration than he would have experienced if he had never had the temporary flight into a higher-status group.

Level of school attendance and social mobility.   Many have assumed that the increase in the years of school attendance among lower-class as well as middle-class children would carry with it a concomitant increase in social mobility.   Although there is still considerable difference between the educational opportunities of the lower and upper classes, a general increase in the level of school attendance for all has not increased the degree of individual social

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[47] See W. B. Brookover, "Teachers and the Stratification of American Society," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 23, 1953, pp. 257–267, for a discussion of hypotheses in this area.

mobility.   Higher-status youth are also receiving increasingly long periods of education.   In the face of this, it is questionable whether a further increase in the compulsory levels of education would materially affect mobility.

It is unlikely that extension of opportunities for education to a larger proportion of lower-status youth would greatly accelerate individual social mobility unless changes were also made in the process by which higher-status persons are selected.   College training is necessary for higher-status ranking in America today.   The extension of compulsory educational requirements to include the secondary-school years tends to make this a minimum rather than a basis for differentiation in status.   There is no evidence that high-school graduation alone materially changes the status of many young people.   This accomplishment has come to be taken for granted in most communities, so that the high-school graduates among lower-class youth are doing little more than is expected. It certainly does not give them a middle-class rating.   College education does provide mobility for some.   It is usually a requirement for those who wish to retain previously acquired high status.

Education and downward mobility.   The analysis of education and social mobility would be incomplete without an indication that a lack of education may result in downward mobility. This occurs less frequently than upward movement, but failure to attain the expected level of education is sometimes one factor in preventing higher-status youth from maintaining their family position.

> Arthur Hughes was a leading physician and president of the Atlas school board as well as the father of five sons.   His father had been a leading physician in town and his brother was also a doctor.   He and his family had high status which he hoped the sons would maintain.   He expected them all to complete college and to enter professions, perhaps medicine.
>
> In turn each of the three older boys was graduated from high school with mediocre records.   Each in turn enrolled in college, but none earned a bachelor's degree.   The fourth son entered military service directly from high school and has no college experience.   Of these four sons, one directs a small local dance orchestra, two are farmers, and the fourth is a factory laborer.   The youngest son is a student in medical school.

It is clear that only the youngest of the five Hughes sons is likely to maintain the father's social status.   Lack of a college degree was not the only factor in this downward mobility, but failure to achieve satisfactory school grades was certainly one screening device.   Higher-status youth frequently are able to maintain the family position in spite of school failure, but school success is one of the symbols of status.   Without it the youth must compensate with success in other fields or lose the family position.

IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL CLASS ANALYSIS FOR EDUCATIONAL POLICY

There is ample evidence that social classes exist in American communities.   This is increasingly accepted, but there is still an inclination to ignore the implications of class structure for educational policy and to think of a school program as if it were independent of society.   Every study of the school clearly indicates that it is part of the social system and must function within its structure and culture.   Regardless of the function that education is to assume in relation to the class system, it must always operate in relation to other forces in the society.   It cannot extricate itself from society, nor can it function as a molder of social structure, except as it functions within the framework of that society.

Many Americans expect mass education to maintain approximate equality of opportunity in American society.   This implies a relatively low degree of social stratification, low visibility of barriers between classes, and a high degree of mobility within the social structure.   The educational expectation is based on the belief that equality of opportunity depends on educational opportunities.   Consideration of such expectations of education, when compared with the actual role of the school in relation to the class system, causes one to ask: What are the social-class goals of education? [48]

One answer to this question is that the educator must accept the class system as it is and organize the schools to prepare youth to live in it as effectively and as happily as possible.   This position is a realistic one for the educator who is clearly aware of the diffi-

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[48] See W. B. Brookover, "The Implication of Social Class Analysis for a Social Theory of Education," *Journal of Educational Theory*, Vol. 1, 1951, pp. 97–105, for a more elaborate discussion of this problem.   The material in this section draws heavily from that paper.

culties involved in organizing an educational system which could achieve the traditional aims of equality and mobility. Many frankly believe that the school can have little or no impact on the social class structure. This does not mean that the class system does not change. Neither does it imply that the present class system is rigid. This position is based on the belief that education can change the social structure very little. We have seen in the previous chapter that there is much evidence to support this position. If the educator is to accept it, his task becomes one of designing a school system which will prepare youth to function in roles which their status makes available to them. There are, however, some difficulties involved in this program.[49]

First, such a program would require a major change in one of the most valued sentiments in our society — that we can provide for mobility and equality of opportunity. If it is difficult for education to modify the class system, it may be even more difficult for education to modify the belief that the schools should continually strive to counteract the development of class barriers. The advisability of such an educational program may be questioned on another basis. It is possible that the control and direction of American society may shift in future generations to those who would, in the present situation, be educated for lower-class positions. If labor, for example, were to assume a managerial function in society, it would seem unwise to educate its members for a laborers' role only. Although it may seem logical to prepare youth to live in their own class, there are forces which make it difficult and perhaps unwise even in a highly stratified society. Such a program assumes that the society will remain stratified on the same basis. This is unlikely in a society that changes as rapidly as ours.

The second alternative for educational policy as it relates to class goals is to attempt to maintain low class barriers and to increase social mobility. This has been the traditional verbalized aim of education for decades. The difficulty involved in counteracting the other forces which tend to stratify society is so great that it is doubtful if education can achieve great success in this direction. The design of an educational system that would function in this way

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[49] Foster McMurray, "Who Shall Be Educated for What?", *Progressive Education,* Vol. 27, 1950, pp. 111–116, gives a pointed analysis of the difficulties and unlikelihood of this position prevailing.

has not yet been produced. Any program that would attain a more fluid class system would necessitate drastic changes in the present educational program. Merely more education of the same sort will hardly satisfy the demands of such an expectancy. If education is to modify the class structure, much more fundamental knowledge of the function of education in society and of the nature of the experience provided by the schools will be required. At this point we have little basis upon which to design a system of educational control, the type of curricula, or the methods of teacher selection and training which would insure equality of opportunity in America.

The third alternative in educational policy is a continuation of the policy in which the values of equality and mobility are verbalized and diffused as widely as possible, while the educational and noneducational process of stratification continues. We have seen how both processes have operated side-by-side in the schools: perpetuation and reinforcement of the class system, on one hand; and stimulation for mobility, on the other. This assumes that we can continue to teach the ideal of equality in a social system in which it has only limited applicability. The difficulties involved in the other two alternatives and the momentum of long practice suggest this as the most probable future of educational policy.

Questions for Discussion

1. Assuming that Americans want the schools to maintain a degree of equality of opportunity, examine the philosophy that education should meet individual student needs in the light of this expectation.   ·
2. Why must the working-class child break with his family pattern in seeking higher education?
3. What is intelligence? How can an I.Q. test be said to measure it? Under what conditions do I.Q. tests fail to measure it?
4. How would it have been possible for the principal to avoid expelling John for truancy?
5. How does a family come to be called "no-count"?
6. How is the educational system related to the stratification system in your home community?
7. Analyze the ways in which a school you know well has provided for social mobility. Are there also means by which lower-class children are prevented from achieving higher status?

Suggestions for Further Reading

Davis, Allison, *Social Class Influences on Learning,* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949.

Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 23, Numbers 3 and 4, 1953, are both devoted to social class and education.

Hollingshead, A. B., *Elmtown's Youth,* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949, especially Chapters 8, 9 and 13.

Stendler, Celia Burns, *Children of Brasstown,* Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1949.

Warner, W. Lloyd, and Havighurst, Robert J., and Loeb, Martin B., *Who Shall Be Educated?* New York: Harper & Bros., 1944.

6.   Education and Intergroup
Relations

WELL OVER A HUNDRED NATIONAL ORGANIZA-
tions are active in interracial and intercultural relations.[1]   About
one-half of these channel their efforts to improve intergroup rela-
tions through the schools or adult-education programs.   These fig-
ures emphasize both the importance of the problem in American
minds and the American faith in education as a remedy for social
ills.   Many other agencies are involved but none so extensively as
the educational ones.   As noted in Chapter 3, the solution of so-
cial problems is one of the functions which Americans assign to
their educational system.   It is therefore appropriate to examine the
educational activities designed to modify intergroup relations and
to note the changes resulting from such programs.

The changes expected with regard to this topic are neither the
most nor the least difficult to achieve.   They are, of course, more
difficult than changes in technology since modifications in the lat-
ter occur rapidly in American society.   They are, however, less
difficult than reforms requiring a change in the basic cultural values.
Intergroup tension is contrary to at least two values: First, the
American creed emphasizes brotherhood and equality, both of
which are contrary to minority group discrimination.   Second, the
same set of values deplores conflict and lays stress on peaceful rela-
tions between groups.   The anticipated changes are generally in
harmony with these accepted values, though other forces perpetu-
ate the current discrimination and hostility in intergroup relations.

[1] *Directory of Agencies in Race Relations, National, State, and Local,* Chicago:
Julius Rosenwald Fund, 1945.   At that time 123 such national organizations
were listed therein.

The many agencies seeking to modify intergroup relations are evidence that desired changes have widespread support. The pressure of these agencies and the acceptance of change in our value system create an atmosphere favorable to this change and permit the school itself to attempt a modification.

Not all relations between groups are the objects of change by educational and other programs. Few would consider it necessary for the schools to devote any effort to the improvement of relations between New England and the Middle West. There are, however, many groups — known as minority groups — whose members find their life chances reduced because of their religion, national origin, or other ethnic differences. Most of the organizations referred to above are interested in relations with these groups. Many of them assume that education is an effective tool for the improvement of such relations.

INTERGROUP EDUCATION: THEORY AND FACT

Education may be applied to the problem of intergroup relations in America in at least three ways. The prevalent thesis in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was that education could best be used for acculturation of minorities. This theory, which proposed that all *nationality* groups should be Americanized, was known as the "melting-pot" theory. While it did not apply to all minority groups, the "melting-pot" concept had great influence on the educational system. The highly visible minorities of the period were the multitudes of foreign-born immigrants. The movement to Americanize these people became particularly vigorous when the South European immigrants replaced the less diverse North European group. The strong prejudice against these groups culminated in the restrictive immigration acts of the 1920's, and there was active demand for the schools to teach both the parents and children the fundamentals of American culture. The possibility of people of varying cultures living side-by-side in harmony was not widely accepted. Rather, it was thought necessary for the foreigner to become American.

This program of assimilation was not readily applicable to the Oriental and Negro groups, which had distinguishable biological traits even when they were fully acculturated. Since there was strong prejudice against racial mixture, the "melting-pot" program

of assimilation never included such groups. It was not a program of intergroup education, but rather one designed to eliminate certain minority groups through absorption into the dominant group. This approach is no longer of primary importance in America.

The second approach was designed neither to result in complete assimilation nor to provide for harmonious relations on a basis of equality. Negroes, Indians, and sometimes Mexicans were excluded as objects of assimilation through education.   These groups were expected to remain separate.   Their education was designed to prepare them for useful roles in "their place," and to perpetuate rather than to eliminate the cultural differences.

The third approach to intergroup education is aimed at relieving tension and reducing the hostility found in both groups.   The main emphasis is placed on changes in the attitude and conduct of the dominant group. Since this group possesses the power, it is expected to assume the responsibility for modification of intergroup relations.   This supposes at the same time both a degree of cultural pluralism, with racial and other minority groups remaining separate, and an equalization of the opportunities of members of these distinct parts of the community.

Americans have generally advocated formal schooling for minority groups. For foreign-born, religious, and other minority elements, this has meant education similar to that provided for the majority. Negroes and Indians, however, have usually been treated as unable to profit by the same training, or training in the same schools. As a result, there have been differences of opinion as to the best training for them.

Education of Negroes.   In the South, Negro education has been based on the theory that the Negro is incapable of training in the academic subjects, and should therefore be equipped with manual skills. Leaders of Negro opinion have differed on this issue. Booker T. Washington was an early proponent of the program of industrial education, accepting, to a considerable extent, the white man's definition of the Negro's role. He advocated educating colored people for the jobs which were open to them.[2] The opposition to this view was most vigorously stated by W. E. B. DuBois,

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[2] Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery,* New York: Doubleday, 1901; also his *Selected Speeches,* ed. E. Davidson, New York: Doubleday, 1932.

who maintained that such an educational program was discriminatory.[3]   DuBois and his associates demanded equality of opportunity for education at the higher levels as well as in elementary and vocational training.   They felt that leadership in the struggle for equality must come through higher education, not through training for inferior positions.

The DuBois position generally prevailed in the North.   Prior to the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in 1954 outlawing school segregation, fourteen states forbade racial segregation in the public

TABLE XI.   **Racial differentials in Southern education: 1949–1950** [4]

	Length of school term in days	**Average number of days attended**	**Average salary of teacher**	**Average expenditure per pupil attending**
White	177.1	157.0	$2,710	$154.69
Negro	173.4	147.9	2,143	95.31

schools.   There was also relatively little discrimination in education in the West, although there may have been ecological segregation. In seventeen Southern states and in the District of Columbia, the laws required colored and white children to attend separate schools. In several other states, local school districts were permitted to establish segregated schools.   Although most states did not maintain segregated schools, the number of Negroes in the South is so large that four out of five Negro children in the United States have obtained their schooling, frequently of a decidedly inferior kind, under such arrangements.   The larger proportion of children in the population and the smaller per capita income as well as the expense of maintenance of separate schools account for the difference (see Table XI).   It is evident that Negroes have received materially less formal education than whites.   In Table XII the differences are not entirely attributable to racial divisions.   If class levels were held constant, the differences in attendance would not be so great.   But

[3] W. E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk,* Chicago: McClurg, 16th ed., 1928. See especially pp. 41–59 and 88–109.
[4] Adapted from *Biennial Survey of Education, 1949–1950,* Washington, D. C.: Office of Education, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Chap. 1, p. 49.

differences in the class distribution of Negroes and whites do not eliminate the fact that Negroes on the whole receive less education.

In spite of the relatively low level of school attendance and the questionable quality of education furnished Negroes in segregation, the Negro, like other Americans, has a great faith in education. Advocates of both programs of study have proclaimed equality as their eventual goal. It is doubtful that either program alone can achieve it, but it is certain that higher-status positions are beyond

TABLE XII.   **Accumulated percentages of persons 25 years old or older in 1950 who had completed various periods of schooling: by race** [5]

Years completed	Total	Nonwhite	White
4 years or less	10.9	29.3	9.2
6 years or less	20.1	47.7	17.5
8 years or less	47.2	68.8	45.2
3 years high school or less	64.3	81.9	62.7
4 years high school or less	84.6	89.4	84.2
3 years college or less	91.8	92.8	91.8
All reporting any schooling	97.8	94.9	98.1

the reach of either whites or Negroes lacking the educational requirements. Vocational education has opened to Negroes job opportunities which otherwise might not have existed for them; on the other hand, its success has been used by the dominant group to justify its claim that the Negro was unfit for professional jobs and positions of leadership. Opportunity for higher education is necessary to open the doors to such positions.

Equality in education alone, however, will not provide the equality of job opportunity the Negro seeks. The education of the Negro probably will not drastically change the discriminatory behavior of the white people. Everyone who seeks long-term improvement of the Negro's position would strongly support a program of better education for him. It is a requirement, even though it is not a cure-all.

The education of the minority may have a boomerang effect on intergroup relations. The claim of some — that education of the Negro will increase conflict — may be true in some respects.

[5] Adapted from data of the Bureau of Census, United States Department of Commerce.

American schools have constantly taught democratic values of equality. This is true in segregated Negro schools as well as in others. When Negroes understand these values, they are likely to become less satisfied with their own position. The educated Negro is much more likely to demand higher status and equality than the one who does not appreciate American democratic values. He is also likely to acquire more effective techniques for protest. White resentment of the active efforts of educated Negroes to modify their status may increase the hostility and the possibilities of conflict.

The educated Negro, who has been taught the American creed of equality, is constantly faced with conflicting models of behavior. As a citizen he may expect to have privileges and rewards commensurate with those of other citizens. He is constantly aware that many of the privileges of citizenship are denied him. He must find ways of resolving these conflicting expectations. Many do this by a satisfactory separation of roles so that they function in terms of two different models. For many others, the conflict causes frustration and increases hostility toward the group imposing the conflict on him. The uneducated Negro may be less hostile because he knows only the model of the Negro as a second-class citizen.

Education of Indians.[6]   American Indian education has been complicated by segregation on reservations. Education of other groups is a function of state and local governments; the education of Indians is administered mainly by the United States Indian Service. Some Indian youth, about 8 per cent in 1952, attend mission or parochial schools, and an increasing proportion, more than 40 per cent in 1952, attend local public schools. Other Indian children receive their formal education in Indian Service schools. (See Table XIII.)

The parochial or mission schools are oriented toward the conversion or acculturation of the Indian youth. They emphasize religious instruction, but also generally provide some type of liberal arts program. These are associated with vocational training of various kinds. Educational facilities furnished by the United States Indian Service include off-reservation boarding schools, reservation boarding schools, and reservation day schools.

[6] Beatrice Garner, an anthropologist and former Indian Service teacher, collaborated with the author in writing this section.

The heterogeneous nature of these Indian school facilities means that different educational philosophies are reflected in each type. There are also wide variations in the educational programs applied to the Indians of different cultures. In spite of this a few generalizations can be made concerning the education of this minority.

The Indian Service schools provide a predominantly vocational or practical arts curriculum. This includes training in home economics and various manual skills. The educational policies of the Indian Service have varied from time to time, but not all the

T A B L E X I I I. **School attendance of Indian children six to eighteen years of age in 1952** [7]

Total Indian children six to eighteen years of age	127,957
Resident children attending Federal Indian Schools	
Boarding schools only	19,495
Day schools only	16,957
Mission schools	9,854
Public schools	
Children covered by Johnson-O'Malley funds	30,772
Children attending schools without cost to the government	22,082

changes have been reflected in the teaching program. The fact that the Indian pupils have cultures and languages which differ from those of the teachers has led many teachers to believe that the Indians should be given a special type of education.

Teachers in both the mission and Indian Service schools tend to consider the Indian unique. They are not commonly thought to be inferior in the sense that some whites consider the Negro, but so different that the usual American educational program is not applicable. Many of the white teachers in these schools are undoubtedly making real sacrifices to help this disadvantaged group. A few teachers accept these positions in an attempt to better the lot of the Indians. However, the majority enter this field because the requirements are not so rigid as those for similar positions in public schools. This very likely affects the quality of instruction which Indian students receive.

The Indian youth attending public- or state-controlled schools

[7] From *House of Representatives' Report No. 2503,* 1953, pp. 54–57.

generally receive the same instruction as other students. A larger proportion of the Indian youth may be guided into vocational courses than into others, but they are not segregated from other students. This mingling with non-Indian students probably results in a greater degree of acculturation. Discrimination against Indian youth is no doubt common, but display of superior academic, athletic, or other abilities will probably gain acceptance for them in the dominant group.

Most teachers of Indians in all types of schools believe they should become "Americanized" and that education is the primary means of achieving it, but segregation in mission and Indian Service schools provides a great barrier to such acculturation. These schools are rationalized on the basis that the Indian cannot profit by the education given white American youth. This is similar to one view of Negro education. More often the Indian groups do not carry a proportionate share of the tax fund, and the influx of Indian students is resented by school boards and administrators. The Johnson-O'Malley Act (1934), which provides for Federal reimbursement, was initiated to alleviate this condition.

Representatives of the several Indian cultures place varying values on education. The Plains Indians have a higher average level of education and are more likely to use education as an avenue for assimilation. Various historical factors may account for this. While some Plains Indian groups have been exposed to school systems for over seventy-five years, most others have not had schools far in excess of fifty years. Educational facilities were impressed upon them as a condition of military defeat which destroyed the cultural and economic bases of their way of life. The Southwestern groups go to school less often and assimilate less rapidly. These groups entered American jurisdiction with a surface acculturation acquired over some two centuries of more tolerant Spanish and Mexican rule, and were allowed to maintain their cultural and economic bases. Another factor has been the shortage of educational facilities in the Southwest to meet the demands of a larger and increasing Indian population. In general, however, most groups have favorable attitudes toward education and believe it will help their youth to adjust to their situation. Most Indians want their youth to acquire a facility to manipulate the symbols of the dominant society, but they also want them to retain the native culture. The

youth's ability to use the native language is therefore looked upon with favor by the Indian group.

White teachers frequently have ambivalent feelings about the educational process also. Some of them want the Indians to reject the native culture and to become integrated in the dominant society. Without having sufficient knowledge of the indigenous culture and its role in the well-being of the child, the teachers generally wish the pupils to break completely with their original cultures. At the same time they frequently do not give the child sufficient training to enable him to participate successfully in white society.

These contradictory expectations among both parents and teachers leave the school youth in a difficult situation. He is expected to learn the new and to reject the old, but he must retain the old to maintain the approval of his native group. These contradictions are also reflected in Indian Service educational policies and the public attitudes of both Indians and whites. Education occurring in this milieu is unlikely to either integrate the Indian or to keep him in a segregated minority.

Prejudice in intergroup relations.   For many years prejudice was considered an inherent part of the relations with minority groups because it was said to be an instinctive reaction to the members of a divergent group. Evidence on the variation and change in such relations has made this position untenable. Since prejudice is learned, it can be modified, or such learning can be prevented. An analysis of the acquisition of prejudicial behavior is essential to a program of intergroup education.

There is at present no generally accepted theory of the development of prejudicial behavior. A variety of hypotheses is constantly being tested, but three general types of theoretical formulations are apparent. The first is the "personality needs" theory. In this, prejudice is seen as an attempt to adjust to disturbing frustrations, guilt feelings, or other personality needs. It is illustrated by the work on the "authoritarian personality." [8] In this the authoritarian person's behavior is primarily the result of adjustment to "deep-seated" personality needs. The "frustration-aggression" hypothesis is similar to this in many ways and can be included in this category.

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[8] T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel Levinson, and R. Nevitt Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality,* New York: Harper & Bros., 1950.

Here the hostility toward the minority is seen as displaced aggression toward an available object as a substitute for aggression toward the frustrating object — perhaps a dominating father, a boss who fails to promote the individual, or a combination of forces that prevent the person from reaching his goals.

The second type of prejudice theory may be called the "competition" theory. In this, prejudice results from the competition between groups for material goods and desired positions in society. Carey McWilliams' studies of intergroup relations are based on this position.[9] He maintains that the motivation for forcing the Japanese-Americans from the West Coast or for discriminating against Jews in jobs or clubs arises from the desire to reduce the competition for wealth, power, or status.

The third theory of prejudice may be identified as the "cultural" theory. This supposes that prejudice is a part of the culture and is learned like any folkway, sentiment, or belief. The stereotypes of minority groups and the definitions of "proper" behavior toward them in a variety of situations are acquired in the socialization process. Much of the research on social attitudes toward minority groups and the programs of education to change such behavior reflect this theoretical framework. MacIver summarized this position succinctly: "In the primary processes of socialization the thought modes of the group are perpetuated, and for the majority . . . these thought modes are 'woven into the very fabric of personality.' " [10]

The reader may well find all three factors in the behavior of one person. These theories have some validity in that writers like Adorno, McWilliams, and MacIver have found them useful in their studies of prejudice. They should be kept in mind in discussing the role of education in changing interracial behavior.

General education and intergroup relations.   One theory concerning general education and intergroup relations holds that the more formal education one has, the less prejudiced one will be. There is considerable evidence that persons with more formal education express more tolerant attitudes toward minority groups. Na-

[9] Carey McWilliams, *Prejudice; Japanese-Americans,* Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1944, and *Mask for Privilege,* Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1948.
[10] R. M. MacIver, *The More Perfect Union,* New York: Macmillan, 1948, p. 196.

tional public opinion polls have shown that persons with higher education give less prejudiced responses to questions about Jews and Negroes.[11] Table XIV shows the relationship between the prejudice among residents of a Midwestern community and the highest grade of formal education reached by them. In this study, Holland found the people with more education expressed more tolerant attitudes than those with less education.[12] Persons with college education were most tolerant — ranked first and second on each prejudice score. Other investigators have found similar relationships between education and responses to attitude-scale items.

Many have concluded from these data that an increase in the general level of formal education is the solution to the problems of intergroup relations. There are several reasons why this is probably not true. First there is little likelihood of everyone receiving a college education. More important than this, the significant factor in the differences between these groups may not be the educational level. The differences in education may only be correlated with the other forces which produce prejudice.

For example, college-educated Dick Jones may be tolerant for any combination of the reasons involved in our theories of prejudice. He might have grown up in a social situation which included no frustrating experiences; his family position and prospects for the future may not involve any competition with a minority group; and as a member of a higher-status group, the sentiments and beliefs that he acquired about Jews and Negroes may be entirely favorable. Dick's relation to minority groups might have been affected very little by the formal education which he received.

In contrast, Studs Lonigan, in James T. Farrell's famous trilogy,[13] was affected in the opposite manner by all three factors. His aggression toward the Negroes and Jews could have resulted from his frustration and feeling of failure, the competition with the Negroes in the community for housing and positions, or simply from

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[11] Babette Samelson, "Does Education Diminish Prejudice?" *Journal of Social Issues,* Vol. 1, 1945, pp. 11–13; and *Fortune* "Poll," *Fortune,* Feb. 1946 and Oct. 1947.

[12] This study was carried out by a committee of the Michigan State College Social Research Service. The data in the table are adapted from John B. Holland, *Attitudes Toward Minority Groups in Relation to Rural Social Structure,* Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State College Library, East Lansing, Mich., 1950, pp. 140 ff.

[13] James T. Farrell, *Studs Lonigan,* New York: Random House (Modern Library), 1938.

the sentiment that he learned in the neighborhood gang. Graduation from the local high school probably would not have changed Studs' relations with the Negroes or Jews very much. The difference in formal education does not make up the entire difference in the lives of Dick and Studs. They are different in all types of experiences which social scientists believe to be productive of preju-

T A B L E X I V.   **Mean prejudice scores and ranks of these scores from low to high prejudice by educational level among 429 adults in a Midwestern rural community.**[14]

Educational level of respondents	Jewish prejudice score		Negro prejudice score		Total prejudice score*	
	Mean	*Rank*	*Mean*	*Rank*	*Mean*	*Rank*
3–4 years of college	6.35	1	5.30	2	4.55	1
1–2 years of college	5.59	2	5.51	1	3.19	2
high-school graduate	5.16	3	4.64	3	3.02	3
9–11th grade	4.61	4	4.44	4	2.70	6
8th grade	4.37	5	4.15	5	2.82	4
5–7th grade	3.71	7	4.06	6	2.71	5
4th grade or less	3.77	6	3.85	7	2.54	7

* The total prejudice score includes attitudes toward Mexicans as well as Jews and Negroes.

dice. Many prejudices are acquired from parental attitudes and opinions, and from environmental learning experiences.

We do not mean to conclude from this that education has nothing to do with intergroup behavior. Education may be an index of the differences in culture, status, or security which produce variations in prejudice. At the same time, the school system may be able to provide the kind of experiences that modify intergroup relations. Some kinds of education may increase, rather than decrease, prejudice, as witness the Nazi program. So a simple increase in the level of education — regardless of its character — is not the total solution for the problem.

Structure of intergroup relations in the schools.   Intergroup relations in the school society may be a significant aspect of the intergroup education program. The presence or absence of mi-

[14] John B. Holland, *op. cit.,* pp. 140 ff.

norities does, of course, affect the nature of the relationship, but even when there are no traditional minorities in the community, clearly defined relationships may be recognized. The manner in which these relations are defined by the community, school staff, and students provides a dramatic educational experience. We have already discussed segregated schools. This is, of course, one kind of intergroup structure. The U.S. Supreme Court has upheld the principle that segregated schools are discriminatory regardless of the equality of facilities and services. Segregation presents to the children a model of discrimination that may set the stage for such behavior in their relations with minorities.

Separate schools for Negroes and whites are not the only source of discriminatory social relations in education. In his study of seven American cities, Brameld found many other discriminatory policies and practices.[15] Administrative posts were rarely held by minority-group members, even in cities with heavy Negro, Jewish, or other ethnic minorities. The proportion of teachers from minority groups was seldom equal to the proportion in the population of the community. Moreover, their placement in schools generally was discriminatory; Negroes, for example, seldom taught in white schools. School-district boundaries, transfer policies, and transportation practices often create unofficial segregation within the school system. Some teachers segregate classes within the school. All of these practices are observed and understood by the child and become a part of his education.

Schools sponsor or condone many other discriminatory customs among their students. Out-of-class activities sometimes deliberately, sometimes informally, exclude minorities. Athletic teams, school clubs, musical groups, and school parties define their relationships so that the subordinate person knows in which he may participate and under what conditions. Teachers are frequently unaware of these definitions of intergroup relations. Two teachers in a Midwestern city asked the writer why their Negro students always wanted to congregate in certain places in the building and why they did not mix with the other students. It was suggested that the white students might have defined these locations for Negroes. Investigation revealed that the white students avoided these loca-

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[15] Theodore Brameld, *Minority Problems in the Public Schools,* New York: Harper & Bros., 1946, pp. 219 ff.

tions; comments and "dirty looks" made it clear that Negroes were not to loiter in other places.

In the same school a girls' club was officially open to any girl who wished to join. On one occasion a Negro girl became a member, but after a few weeks dropped out of the club. The president explained that the girl apparently did not have congenial relationships with the other members of the club. The school staff did not sponsor this as a white organization; perhaps the sponsor was unaware that it was. The Negro girl soon learned, however, that she did not "belong."

Every school has a system of relationships among the teachers, among the students, and between the two levels, which we may call the social structure. We will examine this more closely in a later chapter, but we see here that this structure often fails to equate the life chances of all groups. The school society — intentionally or not — teaches the child to behave in particular ways toward members of other groups.

Methods of intergroup education.   In recent years numerous agencies have directed their attention to the improvement of intergroup relations. This has had profound influence on class and out-of-class activities of the school. Many educators have reorganized their curricula, initiated special courses, and arranged many other activities which they hoped would modify the behavior of the youth toward out-groups. The variety of these activities makes them difficult to classify, and in many cases the theoretical positions on which they are based are not clearly identified. There is little basis for determining the most effective methods, but educators concerned with the problem have hastened to initiate some kind of action program.

In spite of these difficulties, Robin Williams classified the techniques used for controlling intergroup relations.[16] The first is through a modification of the situation in which the person behaves or through redefinition of the situation for the individual without changing it overtly. Although this approach is occasionally involved in the educational efforts, the school is limited in what it can

[16] Robin M. Williams, Jr., *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions: A Survey of Research on Problems of Ethnic, Racial, and Religious Group Relations,* New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 57, 1942, pp. 17–25.

do to modify social situations.   The second approach is much more important for the school.   It is a "direct appeal to the values and attitudes of individuals, without necessarily changing the actual or potential situation for action in other respects." [17]   This includes all the propaganda techniques, as well as the "acceptable" educational devices for changing attitudes through information, contact, group discussion, and related methods.

Because many other forces within the community help to define intergroup situations, the school operates within severe limitations when it seeks to redefine them.   However, there are occasional circumstances in which the school can do this.   Formerly in many states and now in all, the school administration has some opportunity to alter the pattern of segregation.   This has frequently been done with little interference from outside forces.   In other cases the controlling forces in the community may discourage change in the traditional relationships.   Occasionally, also, there are opportunities to redefine relations so that the superordinate group will accept nondiscriminatory actions.   The members of the football team, or the members of the student body at large, for that matter, may object to the participation of a Negro player.   If the school sees this participation as a means of winning games, the threat to established relationships may be condoned or overlooked, and a more tolerant attitude adopted, at least in athletics.

Most of the efforts at intergroup education have involved some type of "appeal to the values and attitudes" of the students rather than to situation modification.   This has been done by a variety of techniques.   Many of these are devices for providing information expected to modify hostile attitudes.   Several kinds of information are included.   Perhaps the most common is a presentation of the nature of racial and cultural differences with special emphasis on the fact that differences in behavior are not biologically inherent, but are learned.   Associated with this is the presentation of evidence to minimize the differences between groups and to emphasize the wide range of behavior within the "we" group.   The child is expected to recognize from such evidence that there are persons within his group who are just as different from him as those in the out-group.   Furthermore, his attitude toward the group differences of which he is aware can change in time and in varying situations.

[17] *Ibid.,* pp. 17–18.

This is frequently brought about by information acquired in courses such as biology or social science.

Another widely used technique is the presentation of information emphasizing the contributions of minorities to the society. The achievements of Negroes in sports, entertainment, music, and other fields are easily communicated through biography, exhibits, or actual performances by Negroes. In similar ways the contributions of Jews, foreign-born, and other groups can be dramatically presented to the youth.

An appeal to the American creed of equal rights for all groups is frequently used to change attitudes. Legal and moral codes, such as the Constitution and the concept of brotherhood, are mobilized to emphasize that prejudice and discrimination are not in harmony with these beliefs. This brings into focus a set of values which Americans defend more strongly than they do their prejudiced behavior. The inner conflict between the two is presumed to cause the prejudiced person to discard those attitudes not in harmony with the American creed.

The educator is sometimes able to make the attitudes of the prejudiced person unpopular and contrary to the expressed opinion of the group. One method for doing this is to associate tolerance with some high-prestige person or symbol. Eleanor Roosevelt's interest in minorities is an illustration of the kind of association that can be exploited for this purpose. Frequently a local hero, such as a prominent athlete or coach, can be used and actual behavior observed. If the opinion leaders of the school group have acquired tolerant attitudes, group pressure may be mobilized to change the overt behavior as well as the attitudes of others in the school situation. When the leaders and other members of school cliques expect and insist on tolerant behavior toward minorities, it is not easy for the individual to behave otherwise in association with these groups. The teacher may be able to mobilize such resources to modify the attitudes of some members of the group. If the opinion leaders are prejudiced, it may be doubly difficult to change the attitudes of others.

Another technique for changing attitudes is the provision of opportunities for the student to mingle with minority group members. This is frequently done by arranging visits with minority group members either in the school, in camp, or in recreational

situations.   In communities where minorities make up a consider-
able portion of the population, this can readily be arranged.   If
none of the traditional minorities is available, some other disadvan-
taged group, such as the children of the outcasts or lower-lower
class, may be substituted.   However, there is much doubt that such
experiences affect the attitudes toward the traditional minorities.

There are, of course, other methods by which teachers try to
change intergroup attitudes.   One is the "parranda," in which a
small group of students accompanied by a teacher and perhaps,
some parents, visits the homes of minority members for successive
courses of lunch or dinner.   It is hoped that under such an atmos-
phere, conversations on foods, music, dances, holidays, clothes, and
other cultural aspects of the minority groups will add to the stu-
dents' knowledge and understanding of these groups.[18]   Another
method, which is receiving increasing use on all levels of education,
is the sociodramatic or role-taking technique.[19]   Events involving
intergroup relations are re-enacted in the school situation, usually
with the minority roles played by members of the superordinate
group.   The school group then discusses the accuracy of the por-
trayal.   In this way the students have an opportunity to identify
themselves with the minority person and to behave as they think he
does.

AN EVALUATION OF INTERGROUP EDUCATION

"Should we answer the way we should or the way we really
think?" was the question that an eighth-grade girl asked when taking
an attitude test after a class had studied tolerance for a school
quarter.[20]   In this question Carol raises a basic problem about
intergroup education.   Other children in the same class frequently
remarked that they knew all the examples of racial hatred and un-
derstood the difficulties, but they "still hated the Japs."

Just how successful are the programs designed to change inter-
group relations?   We have little information on which to base an

[18] Blanche Schwartz, "Parranda and Program," *High Points,* Sept. 1948, New
York: Board of Education of the City of New York; also Rachel Du Bois,
Neighbors in Action, New York: Harper & Bros., 1950, Chapter 3, "The School
Moves into the Home — the Parranda."
[19] Hilda Taba, *et al., Curriculum in Intergroup Relations,* Washington, D. C.:
The American Council on Education, 1949, gives a discussion of this technique.
[20] Reported by Jean Wagner, "An Eighth Grade Studies Racial Tolerance, "*Social
Education,* Vol. 19, 1946, pp. 75–77.

answer to this question.   The program of Americanization in which the schools participate certainly speeds up the acculturation of immigrants.   But many other social forces have a part in the process. Peer-group relations, mass media, and social pressures on the job, besides the school, help to Americanize the foreign-born and their children.   The whole culture accepts this end as a desirable one. The situation is not the same when the school aims to end prejudice and hostility toward the Negroes, Jews, and other minorities.   Other forces in society and the expectations of the adult culture often work against the efforts of the school.   Programs designed to reduce prejudiced behavior need careful evaluation.   First, the assumptions on which they are based should be explicit and should be considered in themselves.

Theoretical assumptions of intergroup education.   Carol's teacher had hoped that her students would come to behave more tolerantly toward Japanese-Americans and other groups commonly subjected to prejudices as the class learned more of the facts about social conflicts.   As Robin Williams pointed out,[21] this assumption, rarely made explicit, underlies much of the effort to modify intergroup relations by education.   It is a clear illustration of the faith blindly given to the power of education by Americans.   In this case, education means knowledge and factual information.   It is assumed that prejudice is the result of ignorance of the facts and that the truth will set men free of prejudice — that accurate knowledge of race and ethnic groups, when substituted for erroneous concepts, will cause the prejudiced person to change his behavior. We do not wish to imply that knowledge of the facts is unimportant in the process of changing attitudes.   Erroneous information may help to support and to justify discrimination, but there is little evidence that knowledge of the Japanese eliminated the hostility toward them.   Carol had acquired the ability to say what she "should" say, but we are not sure that this would be translated into different behavior in relation to Japanese-Americans.   The newly acquired knowledge may be functional in changing responses to school tests, but not in producing fundamental changes in social behavior.

This leads to the second major assumption of intergroup edu-
[21] Williams, *op. cit.,* p. 13.

cation — that experience in the school situation changes behavior in other situations.   Children do become more tolerant in their responses on tests administered in the school situation.   There is little evidence to indicate whether or not these changes are reflected in more tolerant behavior in out-of-school and in adult roles.   When such change occurs, we also assume to some extent that prejudice is a unitary manifestation; that prejudice is a generalized type of behavior which does not vary from one situation to another.   If this is true, and the concept of the "authoritarian personality" implies it is, the educational program must be designed to change the underlying personality structure which produces prejudice.   On the other hand, if prejudice is a function of the situation in which the person is behaving, the modification of attitudes expressed in school may have no effect on behavior in other situations.   It is quite possible for both types of prejudiced behavior to exist, but it is rarely clear how the school experiences will either change the personality structure or carry over into other situations.   Carol and her classmates who still hated the "Japs" were probably not greatly changed in either respect.   They had, however, learned to express more tolerant attitudes in the classroom situation.

This suggests the third, but closely related, assumption of much intergroup education.   The schools' inability to change materially the social situations in which the child lives makes it necessary to direct their attention to the attitudes of the individual child in the hope that changes at this level will cause him to behave differently in the unchanged system of intergroup relationships.   In this discussion attitudes are generally defined as the expression of favorable or unfavorable beliefs or feelings about or toward the minority groups.   The assumption then is that if the students' expressions of their attitudes are shifted from unfavorable to favorable, their actual behavior toward the minority will change accordingly.   Much of the evidence cited to support the idea that programs of intergroup education are effective concerns only modification in verbalizations of attitudes.   Although the correlation between these changes and changes in overt behavior in actual social situations is not known, many educators have assumed that it is high.

Many schools have sought to alter intergroup behavior by increasing the child's contact with members of minority groups.   This may be either through direct association or indirectly through lit-

erature.   These programs assume that contact leads to friendlier and less discriminatory relations.   No doubt much depends on the circumstances under which the contact occurs.   If it involves a pleasant experience and rewards to the individuals, it seems likely that congenial relations between the participants may ensue.   The general assumption, however, is, that more congenial relations with all members of similar groups will result.   If this were generally true, those students who attend mixed schools and associate regularly with members of minority groups would be more tolerant in their behavior than others without such association.   Contact under specific conditions may modify behavior toward the persons in the group under these conditions without modifying intergroup behavior generally.   Certainly close personal relations between American soldiers and our European Allies in World War II did not have this universally favorable effect.

A study of a Midwestern community indicated that adults who recall pleasant contacts with minorities express more favorable attitudes than those who recall no contact.   Those who recall unpleasant contacts have less favorable attitudes than either of the other groups.   In the same community, high-school seniors who had Jewish and Negro classmates were no more tolerant in their expressed attitudes than the seniors in another school where there were no Jews or Negroes.[22]   Generalizations concerning the impact of association with the out-group on intergroup relations are difficult to support.   The issues discussed in the second and third assumptions already mentioned must first be clarified.

Effectiveness of intergroup education.   Independently of the assumptions on which they are based, various educational programs may have decided effects on intergroup relations.   On the other hand we cannot blindly conclude that education is the effective agent.

Adults with higher levels of education sometimes give more tolerant responses to attitude scales than do those of lesser schooling.   This indicates that education at least does not increase prejudice, although it may not be the direct cause of the reduction of

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[22] W. B. Brookover and John B. Holland, "Minorities in Maple County," unpublished MS., Social Research Service, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich.
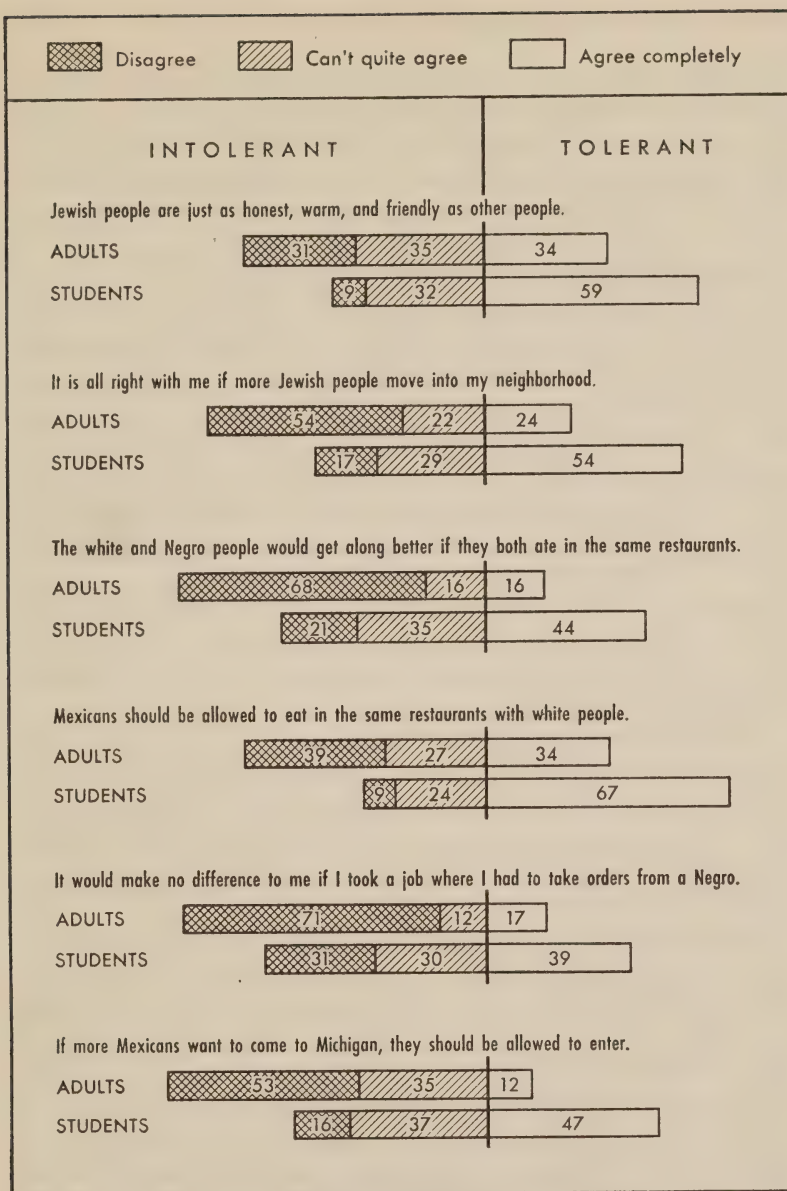
prejudice among the better educated.   There is evidence that the school also creates an atmosphere in which more tolerant attitudes may be expressed.   In the same community in which the adults were studied,[23] the sixth-, ninth-, and twelfth-grade students were asked to respond to a series of items designed to elicit attitudes toward minorities.   Both the adults and students responded to six identical statements.   These results, shown in Figure 5, demonstrate that the students in the three grades were decidedly more tolerant in their expressions than the adults.   Except in the response to items concerning Jews, the level of tolerance does not increase as the children reach the higher-grade levels.   The students as a whole, however, express quite tolerant attitudes in contrast to the adults in the community.   We do not know what attitudes these young people will have when they become adults, nor do we know how they will behave.   Without any specific program of intergroup education, we can conclude that the schools in this community have provided a situation in which tolerant attitudes are expressed.   This demonstrates that the schools do not mirror exactly the attitudes of the adult community, but they may have a great effect on intergroup attitudes in such situations.

No evaluation of the effect of the programs for intergroup education is reported in most cases.   The teachers take for granted that the information acquired or the experience gained produces the desired change in behavior.   Some educators have carefully measured the results of the educational activity.   A few of these studies are summarized in Table XV.

Most of the studies reported concerned the effects of "informational" type courses, and the results were measured in terms of paper-pencil attitude scales of one kind or another.   The results are not completely favorable, but the majority indicated some attitude change in the desired direction.   This does not prove that education of this sort changes behavior toward minority groups in all kinds of situations.   It does demonstrate that some kinds of educational experiences are accompanied by changes in verbal expressions of attitudes which indicate greater tolerance.   This is important to know, although it is far from a complete and satisfactory solution to the educational problem.   There is no evidence that courses of this type change attitudes in the unfavorable direction, as some have main-

[23] *Ibid.;* also footnote 11.

tained.   This is the argument that it is better not to stir up the question, as one highly disturbed minority member maintained.   He objected to having the students respond to a questionnaire because he insisted that it would make them more intolerant than they had been previously.

Much research is needed to determine the kinds of educational experience most effective in changing attitudes.   Furthermore, we

TABLE XV.   **Number of studies showing changes or lack of change as a result of specific influences** [24]

Influences	Change ("more favorable")	No change	Indefinite	Total
School or college course	6	4	1	11
Specific propaganda	7	1	1	9
Personal contacts	3	3	2	8
Knowledge or acquaintance (correlations)	7	2	1	10
Time in school	8	6	4	18
Total	31	16	9	56

know practically nothing about the effect of such experiences in any but the paper-pencil test situation.   We need to observe behavior carefully in many actual situations before we know exactly what education is accomplishing.

We should remember that the school is only one of several social forces affecting intergroup relations.   Certainly the kinds of training received in the play group, the family, and other areas of interaction are equally, if not more, significant aspects of intergroup education. If these teach the youth discriminatory and hostile behavior patterns, the school can exert little influence on their conduct.   Segregated housing, play groups, discrimination in recreational facilities and other public functions may define the relations among groups in the community.   Unless the entire community is mobilized to change these influences, the school is relatively helpless to modify the total educational milieu.   Certainly an effective design for changing such behavior must involve other agencies as well as the school.

[24] Arnold M. Rose, *Studies in Reduction of Prejudice*, Chicago: American Council on Race Relations, 2nd ed., 1948, p. 23.   Reprinted by permission of the author.

Within, as well as outside the school, there may be many experiences which present models of intergroup behavior in direct contradiction to those given in the classroom. In our concern about the formal school curriculum in intergroup relations, we frequently overlook the unsought or concomitant learning that occurs in the school situation.[25] Kilpatrick reports that in one school Protestant teachers ate their lunch in one room, Catholics in a second, and Jews in a third. Such a model of intergroup behavior will probably have more influence than the contrary classroom training that these teachers may provide. This emphasizes the fact that teachers are members of the society the schools are expected to change. It is not unusual for teachers who are enthusiastic proponents of intergroup education to continually exhibit discriminatory behavior. One school administrator, who expressed extremely tolerant attitudes and encouraged his teachers to develop techniques of intergroup education, in another situation proudly told the writer how he had "put Arthur [a Negro boy] in his place." The student body in this school was aware of the fact that this administrator and many of the faculty discriminated against the few Negro students. The teachers, in fact the entire school and community, must present models of democratic human relations if intergroup education is to be effective. The school is frequently not in a position to modify the behavior of its teachers and even less that of other persons who influence youth.

In spite of the limitations of school programs in intergroup education, there is much to encourage the educator in this area. When examined in the light of the basic values of American culture, the improvement of group relations is "good." Although they may present a contrary point of view, few patrons of the school — powerful or otherwise — will condemn the teacher who tells his students that Negroes or Jews have equal rights with others in America. In case of criticism the teacher can point to the Constitution, and to numerous other expressions of the American creed as justification of his teaching. The importance of this is difficult to estimate, but it certainly gives the educator a platform on which he can plan a program of social change in this area. Those who would like to

[25] See W. F. Kilpatrick, *Modern Education and Better Human Relations*, New York: Freedom Pamphlets, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1949, for an excellent discussion of this point.

change the economic system or form of government through education would have no such moral support.

There have, no doubt, been changes in intergroup relations in the last few decades. Much of it has been in the direction of reduced hostility. Although it is difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of the school programs, they surely have been a factor in this change. An even greater effect may be possible.

Basis for effective intergroup education.   Programs of intergroup education have in the past followed much the same pattern as those for teaching skills and factual information. Learning to behave democratically toward minorities was presumed to be like learning to read or to acquire a knowledge of history. Our present understanding of prejudice indicates that education to modify such behavior requires a different orientation. Earlier in the chapter we considered three major theories of prejudice. Although these theories will probably be modified in the future, it does seem feasible to plan intergroup education in terms of at least one of them.

If we assume that prejudice results from the need to find an object for aggression or that it is the expression of some other "authoritarian personality" need, the educational program should be designed to prevent the development of such personalities. To the extent that these "authoritarian personalities" are fixed in the early years of life, the improvement of intergroup relations will depend on a modification of the child's early training and relations with parents and others. Modification of prejudice of this sort in the later years would seem to involve psychiatric treatment. There is some evidence that such therapy is effective in many cases of prejudice. Some psychiatrists maintain that this is the only way to modify the behavior of such prejudiced persons. The typical educational approach is unlikely to have a favorable effect on such cases.

If it is assumed that prejudice is the result of competition for power, status, or economic wealth, the educational program should be designed to effect changes in the competitive system. Either the system of competition for these goods must be modified or some method must be devised to reduce the insecurity that results from it. The task of modifying the entire competitive economy is beyond the scope of the educational system alone. This would require a

pervasive culture change involving the basic values of the economic, political, recreational, and related systems. Although education could participate in such a change if it became acceptable, it can hardly do so in the present role assigned to it. Now the schools assist in adjusting children to this competitive culture. A change in this would require a reorientation of the whole educational process.

If intergroup education is to be based on this theoretical position, it could probably be more profitably directed toward reducing the insecurity of minorities that is presumably generated in the competitive society. This might take at least two forms. First, education could be directed toward helping the youth to accept the best position attainable with his resources, though it is not the highest position of power, wealth, or prestige within his vision. Secondly, the youth could be taught to recognize the real limitations on his achievements rather than to blame them on a disadvantaged group. Thus the person would understand that his inability to obtain desirable housing or to acquire other goods was the result of a combination of economic and political forces rather than the result of the presence of a minority group in the community. This type of program would involve developing in youth some skill in the objective analysis of social relations and the ability to apply that skill to their own social situations.

The third theory regarding prejudice presumes it to be part of the culturally expected patterns of behavior. These are acquired in the socialization process as other parts of the culture. Much of our intergroup education assumes that the culture teaches democracy in human relations and that prejudiced persons are so because they are uninformed. As we have indicated earlier, there is much evidence that the child learns through the informal and formal educational processes in just which situations he is expected to be discriminatory or hostile in his relations with minority-group members. Thus it may be relatively easy to teach the youth he is not expected to behave in a prejudiced manner while in the school situation, or at least in some school situations. There is little evidence to prove this learning is transferred to other action situations. In fact, the youth may have learned by other means that he is expected to behave in a prejudiced manner in these other situations.

If the intergroup educational program is to be based on the cul-

tural learning theory of prejudice, it must teach that unprejudiced behavior is expected in an increasingly wide range of situations. In other words, the educational system will seek to teach the student that society does not consider prejudiced behavior desirable in any situation.   At this point the formal educational process may come in conflict with the numerous informal socialization processes through which the child learns where prejudiced behavior is expected.   This is a barrier to effective intergroup education.   But the powerful demand for the schools to transmit the democratic values of the culture may be the basis for expanding the range of situations in which unprejudiced human relations are expected. The schools may be able to justify bold attempts to redefine the culturally expected behavior in relation to minorities in such areas as housing, employment, religion, and education itself by relating them to the democratic creed, which is widely accepted.   It must be recognized, however, that verbalization of these redefinitions in the classroom may have little or no effect on behavior in out-of-school situations.   Other forces which affect culture change will likely need to be involved; changes in the culture can be made only if all the effective agencies of cultural transmission are participating in the change.

If intergroup education were to return to the earlier "melting-pot" theory applied to the immigrant, the approach would be very different.   In this the schools functioned to speed up as much as possible the assimilation process so that objects of prejudice were no longer available.   When the minority doesn't exist, it is difficult to direct one's hostility toward it or to discriminate against it. The schools could·not now participate widely in a program to facilitate the assimilation or amalgamation of such groups as the Negroes or the Mexicans, but eventually this may be feasible. Some students maintain that a modification of this program could be accomplished by reducing as much as possible the social and cultural differences between the minority and dominant groups. Increased opportunities for equal education among minorities would certainly be a factor in this process.

No attempt has been made to make an exhaustive catalogue of the means by which intergroup education can be related to social and psychological theories of prejudice.   Rather we have tried to suggest that intergroup education should be redesigned so as to be

consistent with some working hypothesis. New evidence, now rapidly accumulating, will necessitate continuous revision of our theories and programs. Any or all of the theories considered may suggest the design for a program of action. Only as such programs are carefully designed and evaluated can the effective ones be identified.

Any program of intergroup education should recognize the importance of the school itself as a model of intergroup relations. Associations between students as well as those between students and teachers are significant. Epley found [26] that students who are positively oriented toward teachers are more likely to grow tolerant over a period of three years than are students who are negative in their reactions. Since most teachers verbalize tolerant attitudes, this suggests that students who have congenial relations with the teacher model are more likely to accept the teacher's definition of "good" attitudes.

There are, of course, other avenues to improvement of intergroup relations besides the school. Legal or political action frequently redefines the norms and alters the atmosphere of the society within which education occurs. The action of the U.S. Supreme Court in outlawing segregated schools in the several states will, no doubt, initiate extensive changes in intergroup relations. Educators who previously accepted the separate but equal doctrine will now adopt the new norm of integration. Remnants of segregation will, no doubt, continue for many years, but the prestige and power of the Court give the new norm great weight. Legal actions of this sort create an atmosphere in which persons are both permitted and expected to change their attitudes and behavior. Great changes in intergroup relations in the larger society as well as within the school can result from such action.

Questions for Discussion

1. From the description of education among American Indians, what would you expect the attitude of the Indian child toward the school to be? Of the Indian parent?
2. "Should we answer the way we should or the way we think?"

[26] Dean G. Epley, *Adolescent Role Relationships in the Dynamics of Prejudice*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State College Library, East Lansing, Mich., 1953.

Granted that the school officially states the first alternative, what formulates the second?
3. Describe the intergroup educational program of a school you know.   How has it affected the behavior of students and adults in this community?
4. To what extent can the less favorable attitude of adults toward minorities be attributed to lack of education?
5. How do you account for racial prejudice in well-educated people?

Suggestions for Further Reading

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Human Relations
in the School

7. The Culture of American Schools

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN AMERICA HAS sufficient age and stability to have created a considerable body of behavior patterns which may be described as a school culture. Although it is closely related to the culture of the larger society, the school has some distinctive features of a subculture. As noted in Chapter 3, one function of the school is to transmit certain aspects of our culture to the children and youth of each generation. Thus the school must always be aware of the larger society and its culture. Nevertheless, many divergent cultural patterns have developed in the school system. This is possible because the school is somewhat isolated from the main stream of culture.

Part of the school subculture stems from the fact that, for a considerable portion of their time, the youth are segregated from the process of adult living. In this situation certain juvenile behavior patterns, inappropriate in the adult world, are permitted and to some extent encouraged. In this category are traditional pranks, habits of dress, slang, rituals and ceremonials. Other aspects of the school culture develop out of the nature of the educational function. The necessity to teach certain areas of knowledge, attitudes, and skills has led to the establishment of curricula, expected levels of achievement, and techniques of control and teaching.

Although there are variations from school to school and from region to region, behavior types are sufficiently general in character to permit a description of a subculture of the American school. The continuity and repetition of interaction within the school group

result in mutually understood and accepted ways of behaving. These are the school subculture. They include the teaching program and the areas of knowledge taught as well as numerous other activities. The former we term curriculum. The latter, extracurricular activities, are equally part of the school culture.

In both segments an extensive body of traditions, customs, and other habitual ways of interaction has developed. Such cultural aspects are frequently termed *folkways*. Many folkways are unique to the school situation and are distinguishable from the more inclusive community culture. Every culture includes definitions of proper behavior in numerous social situations. Although they are sometimes indistinguishable from the folkways, we shall use the more precise term *norms*. The school norms emerge from interactions in the school situation as well as from the total community culture. The culture also includes the values, sentiments, and beliefs which justify or give meaning to behavior. Education in itself is a major value in American culture, but within the educational system other related values and beliefs have developed. The values and the norms of the school are frequently reinforced by special rituals and ceremonies which call them to group attention. These are also an integral part of the total culture.

The reader with American school experience will recognize nothing novel in a description of the school culture. He may see little value in an analysis of something everyone understands. However, such an analysis should help the reader to understand the function of this subculture in the total society and its impact on the behavior of teachers and students. The latter is the subject of Part IV of this volume. Many aspects of the school culture are analyzed in that section. This chapter, therefore, serves as an introduction to the idea of a school culture, and analyzes some aspects not discussed later.

COMMON CULTURE PATTERNS IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS

Regardless of the section of the country or stratum of society in which they had experience, former students of American public schools can converse with one another without misunderstanding. A portion of the population has had little direct experience in the school system, but even most of these persons have acquired a

limited knowledge of the curriculum, the rules, and the activities of the school.   A historical analysis of the origin and development of this cultural area would provide a valuable study in culture growth, but we are here concerned with a cross-sectional picture of that subculture.

TABLE XVI.   **Expansion of elementary-school curriculum from 1775–1900.**[1]

1775	1825	1850	1875	1900
				Physiology and Hygiene
				Literature
			1875	Drawing
		1850	Drawing	Civics
	1825	History	Civics	History
	Grammar	Language and Grammar	History	Language and Grammar
1775			Language and Grammar	
Reading	Reading	Reading	Reading	Reading
Spelling	Spelling	Spelling	Spelling	Spelling
Writing	Writing	Writing	Writing	Writing
Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Arithmetic
Bible	Conduct	Conduct	Conduct	Play
1775	Bookkeeping	Bookkeeping	Nature Study	Nature Study
	Geography	Geography	Geography	Geography
	1825	Object Lessons	Music	Music
		1850	Physical Exercises	Physical Training
			1875	Sewing
				Manual Training
				1900

Curriculum.   Every school administrator and teacher plans a program of activities for children.   These are considered appropriate for the training in the knowledge and behavior it is believed the youth will need.   There has been considerable variation and expansion in curricula over the past century, but a core of it has

[1] O. W. Caldwell and S. A. Curtis, *Then and Now in Education,* New York: World Book, 1924, p. 119.   Reprinted by permission.

been universally recognized in America as appropriate for the school program. This core has constantly increased in breadth of content in the elementary school. In each case materials were added or changed because it was believed they provided a valuable educational experience. The increase in the number of subjects offered before the present century has been charted by Caldwell and Curtis as indicated in Table XVI on page 155.

It is likely that the curriculum in some elementary schools today is similar to that in 1900. Other schools would not name these subjects, but would indicate the activities and projects developed. However, current samples of elementary-school procedure indicate that division of the curriculum into segments called subjects is still common.

The concept of subject areas as special segments of the culture to which the secondary-school youth shall be exposed is even more sharply presented in our high-school practice. While the subjects in the elementary school frequently merge in actual practice, this rarely happens at the secondary level because of the specialization of instruction. Many instructional areas have been stabilized in the curriculum by the enactment of state laws requiring instruction in certain subjects in the secondary school. The trends in high-school subject matter are shown in Table XVII.

State and local school requirements have led to classification of two types of subjects in the high-school curriculum — the required and the elective. In this arrangement, all students must qualify with knowledge of the required subjects if they are to receive the school's stamp of approval. In addition, the students who elect a particular curriculum are required to "pass" other courses designated for the specific training program. The variety of curricula provided depends on the size and function of the school in the community. The most common secondary curriculum is the traditional academic or college preparatory program. In 1948, 44 per cent of a representative sample of Michigan tenth- and twelfth-graders were enrolled in such a curriculum, while 30 per cent were enrolled in a business or commercial curriculum.[2] Over the years a variety of both general and specialized programs has developed.

This brief discussion of the subjects and study courses in American schools is not intended as an evaluation of the relative merits

[2] Unpublished data, Social Research Service, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich., 1948.

TABLE XVII.   **Percentage of pupils enrolled in certain subjects in the last four years of public secondary day school, 1889–90 to 1948–49.**[3]

Subject *	PER CENT			
	1890	**1910**	**1928**	**1949**
English		57.1	93.1	92.9
Journalism			.2	1.9
U. S. History	27.3 †	55.0 †	17.9	22.8
World History			6.1	16.2
Government		15.6	20.0	8.0
Geography			.3	5.6
Problems of Democracy			1.0	5.2
Economics			5.1	4.7
Sociology			2.7	3.4
General Science			17.5	20.8
Biology		1.1	13.6	18.4
Botany		15.8	1.6	.1
Physiology		15.3	2.7	1.0
Zoology		6.9	.8	.1
Earth Science		21.0	2.8	.4
Chemistry	10.1	6.9	7.1	7.6
Physics	22.8	14.6	6.8	5.4
Algebra	45.4	56.9	35.2	26.8
General Mathematics			7.9	13.1
Geometry	21.3	30.9	19.8	12.8
Trigonometry		1.9	1.3	2.0
Spanish		.7	9.4	8.2
Latin	34.7	49.0	22.0	7.8
French	5.8	9.9	14.0	4.7
German	10.5	23.7	1.8	.8
Industrial Subjects			13.5	26.6
General Business Training			3.0	5.2
Business Arithmetic			6.9	4.6
Bookkeeping			10.7	8.7
Typewriting			15.2	22.5
Shorthand			8.7	7.8
Business Law			2.6	2.4
Economic Geography			4.8	1.7
Office Practice			1.5	2.0
Home Economics		3.8	16.5	24.2
Agriculture		4.7	3.7	6.7
Physical Education			15.0	69.4
Music			26.0	30.1
Art			11.7	9.0

* Subjects with 1.0 per cent or less enrolled in any listed year were omitted.
† Includes English History.

[3] From *Biennial Survey of Education, 1948–50,* Office of Education, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Chap. 1.

of such an instructional program in our society.   Its purpose is simply to call attention to a major characteristic of the culture of American schools.   This fundamental school aspect is apparently so much a part of our thinking that sociologists do not discuss it. Waller,[4] for example, failed to mention the subject areas in his analysis of the culture of the school.   When compared to the programs of education in other societies, the American concept of subjects and of the nature of the subjects taught is, to some extent, a pattern of behavior native to our society.

Promotion from grade to grade.   Associated with the mastery of certain subjects is the pattern of grade-school organization and evaluative marks which are the cues to promotion from grade to grade, or subject to subject.   In the elementary school the progress from one level of achievement to another is largely by grades. These are based on a normal six- or eight-year span for the elementary curriculum.   Generally the progress through the curriculum above the seventh- or ninth-grade level is by subjects.   In either case the rights and privileges associated with the various grade levels are highly significant cultural aspects of any American school.

In many ways the system of promotion from grade to grade is characteristic of the age-grade differentiation and related systems found in other societies.   Most societies have rather clearly defined behavior expectations for the varying age periods.   A person passing from one age period to another frequently participates in a ceremony and is identified henceforth as a member of the next age group.   He is then expected to behave in terms of the norms of the new group.   Anthropologists have designated such ceremonies and changes in age-group membership as *rites of passage*.   Our graded school system performs many of these functions for the children and adolescents in our society.

The formal rite of passage or promotion from one grade or subject to another is the teacher's evaluation of the child's achievement.   For this reason the measurement devices the teacher uses in determining whether or not the pupil has reached a level of achievment sufficient to justify promotion to the next grade or to rate a "passing" mark in the course become highly significant in the lives

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[4] Willard Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching,* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1932, pp. 103–133.

of the children.   The desire to achieve satisfactory knowledge is not unimportant, but the child is probably more concerned with the maintenance of his relationship with and acceptance by his fellow students than he is with the ability to acquire areas of knowledge. Failure to perform satisfactorily in these formal rites of passage means that the elementary-school child must sever his association to a large degree with the group of which he has been a member, and he must establish himself in a new and chronologically younger group the following year.   In some cases this may be an easy adjustment for the child because his level of maturity is inadequate for satisfactory membership in the older group.   Usually, however, the child does not relish this experience.   Frequently, considerable emotional disturbance is produced in the child by failure to make normal school progress.   Similar experiences may be encountered by children who are advanced beyond their group.   The majority of teachers recognize the nonacademic implications of the promotion procedure, but subject-matter achievement remains the major item of consideration.

There are many less clearly defined rites of passage in the child's progress from one school level to another.   These vary greatly from grade to grade and school to school.   In some, various types of hazing activities are practiced, particularly at the beginning of high school.   In others there are more formalized initiation or orientation ceremonies which have teacher sanction.   In every school there are numerous activities, organizations, and freedom of movement available to children of certain grades that are not permitted for children in other grades.   An illustration may suggest the importance of such rites in the lives of the children.

In the B school the early elementary grades were in rooms on the first floor of the school building.   The children in the fifth grade and above were on the second floor.   Although no rule was ever known to have been formulated by the teachers, it was generally understood by the pupils that no child in the first four grades was to be seen on the second floor unless on a special mission for a teacher.   Promotion from the fourth grade was more than a mere evidence of academic achievement for the children in school B. It meant that henceforth they could explore the mysteries of the second floor without fear of questioning and perhaps forcible ejection by the older pupils.

Similar illustrations might be given of the significance of promotion from one grade to another in the use of areas of the playground or the gymnasium, the privilege of being patrol members, or eligibility for membership in school organizations. In the high school many of the restrictions or privileges are sanctioned by the teacher or other quasi-official regulations. This may be illustrated by the following case:

> Alice had attended the same school for twelve years and during this time had always been associated with nearly the same group of children. During her high-school years she found the work difficult and failed several courses. When the group with which she had started to school reached the senior year, there was a question of Alice's eligibility for the various senior activities. When it was learned that she would not have enough credits to be graduated in the spring, both the senior group and the principal ruled that Alice must be excluded from the senior play.

The basis given for the exclusion of Alice in this case was that she would have an opportunity to participate in the senior play and other activities the following year. This was no consolation for the girl. She had no desire to participate with a group of which she had never been a member. In spite of this she was rigorously eliminated by the group, with official sanction from the faculty, because she failed to qualify for membership in the group.

There is implicit in the concept of rites of passage a recognition of status or prestige differentials in the grade levels. In practically every school the children of the lower grades are expected to show a deference to the more advanced students. In most high schools seniors have a position quite different from that in any other grade. This may involve privileges of movement, excuses from school for certain periods, and the assumption of the responsibility for enforcing certain expected behavior patterns on other students. Similar positions may be accorded the highest grade in an elementary-school situation.

Generally the members of the upper grades feel that they have certain knowledge of the way the school is supposed to function; those in the lower grades do not have this knowledge and therefore the advanced students display their superior knowledge and experience in their relations with the younger children. A comment

overheard in a conversation between some first and second graders illustrates the point.   Said one second grader, "You can't do that. When you get to the second grade, you'll know about that."   The first graders were duly impressed and showed evidence of longing for the day when they could do "that."   In another school a fourth-grade boy commented about the third graders, "Are you going to put those babies in front of us?"   Thus, every child finds in the school situation, as he does in the family and play groups, doors that are closed to him until he has reached a more advanced level in the social situation of which he is a part.   Other bases for the determination of status and prestige in the school will be discussed in the following chapter.

Daily Schedule.   American schools operate on a regular daily schedule, although such schedules are becoming increasingly flexible, particularly on the elementary level.   One of the significant aspects of this system of activities is that every person in the school is expected to be at a certain place carrying on rather clearly defined types of behavior at every hour of the school day.   The established schedule is not rigidly followed in many (if not most) elementary-school classes today.   If the reading activities, for instance, appear to be particularly interesting and fruitful, the group may be permitted to continue them beyond the allotted time. Furthermore, several of the listed activities may merge into one another in such a fashion that the designation of such a schedule is inaccurate.   On the junior high-school and high-school levels, where the various activities may be directed by different teachers in different rooms, the schedule is usually followed with monotonous regularity. Variations for all-school convocations or similar activities are generally rare.

   On the secondary-grade levels, the segmentalized activities of the school are punctuated by signals, usually bells or gongs, and the regular passing from class to class.   Intermissions between class activities tend to be periods of release from the restrictions enforced in the classroom.   The spontaneous activity during the intermission is initiated and ended by the scheduled signals just as the class activities are.   In most schools the time during which the student does not have a class activity is designated as a study period, and the pupil is expected to report to a definite place for this period.

In every case the presence or absence of the student at the scheduled place must be reported for every hour of the school day. Failure to be present at the appointed place is noted. If the absence is not the result of sickness or if another excuse is not acceptable, the error or offense is made known to the child in no uncertain terms. In the elementary grades, where the pupils are under almost constant supervision of a single home-room teacher, this control of activity is not difficult. In the junior and senior high school, the usual practice for permitting occasional free movement is the issuance of "pass slips." Such an arrangement enables a teacher to account for the failure of a student to arrive at the proper time at the class or study for which he is scheduled. The freedom of movement of the child is in practically every case limited by the extent, usually not great, to which the teachers are willing to permit variation in his established schedule. Some students find ways to avoid the routine, but if they are seen by a teacher in an unscheduled place, they are generally asked "Where are you supposed to be?"

At present there is little known of the impact of the relatively rigid school schedule on the behavior of the child. Whether or not it is a valuable part of the child's training for life in the society has seldom been examined critically. It has generally been justified on the ground that the child in America must learn to be where he is supposed to be at the proper time if he is to succeed in a work situation. There might be some question about the system. Does it train him to assume responsibility for reporting for work at the proper time, or does it make him dependent on a system of bells and supervisors as the determinant of his movements in connection with reporting at an expected place? In any case it should be clear that the schedule of the school is a part of the culture within which the child is expected to behave. That this framework of expected behavior has force in establishing the habits of the youth seems a plausible postulate. The exact effect upon the personalities of the children remains to be learned.

Aspects of the school culture associated with the physical plant. The relation of the physical nature of the school plant to the system of bells and schedules which we have discussed is apparent. The secondary-school schedule in particular assumes a school of suffi-

cient enrollment to require a building of several rooms. The fact that rooms are equipped for teaching certain subjects makes departmentalization an essential part of the scheduling procedure. It is impossible to have the equipment for music, chemistry or physics, and history in the same place, so students taking such a combination of subjects must move from room to room, rather than have the teachers circulate from group to group. In the elementary grades, where one teacher is responsible for almost all the school program, the less elaborate equipment and physical facilities are more likely to be located in one room. Even at this level, students frequently go to different rooms for instruction in music, industrial arts, and physical education.

When the school building houses several grades operating on different time schedules, the stage is set for the development of all sorts of patterns of behavior while the students are passing from room to room. This arrangement might affect the norms of expected behavior even outside the school. One family, living more than a block from the school, reported that elementary-school children always walked on their tip toes on their way from school. This reflected the fact that these children were expected to walk quietly when leaving the building because the higher grades were still in session. Every person who has attended an American school for any length of time can recognize patterns of expected behavior related to the nature of the physical situation.

If secondary or college students are permitted to arrange the chairs in any way they wish in a classroom, they will usually arrange them in the traditional rows facing the teacher's desk or platform. Although frequently varied in the early elementary grades and in graduate courses, this pattern of arranging the students in rows facing a common direction is firmly fixed in most schools. The nature of the interaction among students in any class is clearly structured by this seating arrangement. Although it no doubt decreases the amount of irrelevant conversation among students, it probably also reduces the face-to-face interaction process that provides the medium of much learning. Certainly much of the classroom activity is determined by the seating arrangement. The domination of the teacher, which is discussed in Chapter 8, is no doubt facilitated by the traditional seating.

Ceremonial occasions associated with the school. No analysis of the culture of the school would be complete without some study of the numerous ceremonies that develop in connection with its activities. Ross implied in his analysis of ceremony of occasions [5] nearly fifty years ago that the incidence of such ceremony was decreasing in our "rational" society. Such a trend can hardly be discerned in the schools. Without question there has been considerable decrease in the occasions with which ceremonies are associated, but the tendency for ceremonies to emerge in the activities of the school is still great. Each new activity in school is likely to involve occasions in which some ceremony becomes appropriate. This has been particularly true of the athletic events which became such a popular adjunct of American education in the first half of the twentieth century.

The reasons for this have not been carefully explored. Ross saw all such ceremony as a symbolic means of control. Much traditional ceremony has lost its control function, but this is still an important aspect of ceremonial behavior. In many instances ceremonies may have been consciously instituted for this purpose. As Ross pointed out "The service of ceremony . . . consists in so stimulating the imagination by appropriate gestures, actions, and words as to call up the concepts of something vaster in power, life, and numbers than the here and now . . . they bind somebody to do for . . . the group what hitherto has not been laid upon him." [6] Although we are not primarily interested here in the social control function of ceremony, some interpretation of the behavior is necessary in simple description. It is entirely possible that in the attempt at description the real meaning may escape us as Waller has warned in his analysis.[7] But the ceremonies of certain occasions are so important in maintaining the child's identification with the school group and through this in strengthening the morale of the group that they must be analyzed to understand the culture of the school.

School assemblies. One of the first ceremonial occasions that comes to mind in connection with Ross's concept of its function is the traditional assembly. Many schools begin the day with either

[5] E. A. Ross, *Social Control*, New York: Macmillan Co., 1901, pp. 353–356.
[6] *Ibid.,* pp. 254–255.
[7] Willard Waller, *op. cit.,* p. 121.

home-room activities of a sort which grew out of the traditional opening exercises of an earlier date, or an all-school assembly. Others have such meetings only on occasions when some particular program is to be presented or when a special problem is to be discussed.   In the former cases the routine varies widely, but frequently includes some group singing, the announcements for the day, perhaps some Bible or other inspirational reading, and a discussion of a "problem" of behavior which the teacher would usually define as a disciplinary problem.

The latter type of assembly is usually called to present an outside speaker, to show a movie, or to discuss a matter of conduct before the entire student body.   The ceremonies involved depend on the nature of the occasion, but the assembly process is a ceremony in itself.   In addition, there is generally a speech or short statement by the principal or some other designated person.   Such a speech is usually an effort to get the students to behave in a certain way.   In the minds of the students generally, the assembly is the place for something important, or at least different, to occur. Because of this attitude, there is frequently an air of expectancy connected with such occasions.

This provides a responsive situation in which to stimulate the students to co-operative action or to suggest group decisions.   The frequent participation in the community singing or other group activity probably adds to responsiveness.   We are not in a position to say that teachers and administrators have consciously perpetuated the school assembly because of its function in getting a group response.   There is little doubt that they manipulate such meetings in order to obtain student co-operation and support for the decisions they have already made.

The ceremonial activities used in a given school depend on the tradition in each situation.   In some schools the demeanor of a principal or superintendent who has long been in charge of the school may create the desired atmosphere.   In others, grouping all the teachers before the assembly is important.   In schools where students have had much voice in the determination of policy, the remarks of the leaders of the group may be effective.   And in still others, the participation in mass singing, repeating the oath of allegiance, or some other similar mass action may define the situation.   In any case the program serves to stimulate the group by

gestures, actions, or words to some action and to give them the group support for doing what they might not otherwise do so readily.

Either in school assemblies or similar, but distinct occasions, many schools have induction or initiation ceremonies of various sorts to induct the student into the life of the school and to stimulate identification with its activities. Waller describes such a ceremony in a private school:

> On the first night of school all the boys assemble in the chapel for the New Students' Night. They are all very tired, as they have spent the day in registering for their courses, getting straightened up in their rooms, and in general getting set for a year of living. But they are all interested, for the beginning of a new school year is always a momentous occasion, and doubly so for those who are for the first time in a boarding school.
>
> The proceedings are initiated by the superintendent . . . or some older member of the faculty. The appointed person makes a little speech welcoming the newcomers, and wishing them well. He then explains that in accordance with an old custom he will ask every boy to rise in his turn and to give his name, tell where he comes from, and state what school activities he intends to go out for this year. And each boy in his turn rises and says, "My name is Tom Brown and my home is in Marsden and this year I intend to go out for heavyweight football and basketball and track and be a reporter for the school paper."
>
> The statement of intentions is usually a bit more comprehensive than the boy's ability or energy would justify, but it is nearly always respectfully received by both the students and the teachers. As the scheme works out in practice, it is an excellent device for obtaining a high degree of participation in activities at the very start of the school year.[8]

This sort of program would scarcely be appropriate for nonboarding public schools, but variations of it in assemblies during the school day are frequently practiced.

The students themselves, through their organizations or activity groups, also develop less formal initiation ceremonies for new students. These may involve the hazing type of treatment or the clearly organized induction into the group.

[8] Willard Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching,* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1932, pp. 123–124. Reprinted by permission.

Similar to the initiation occasions are those in which the purpose is to pass on to a new group the position of persons leaving or changing roles in the school.   One of the most common is the class-day occasion, whereby the seniors transfer the position of the senior class to the oncoming senior class.   This sometimes consists of a rather elaborate ceremony of handing over a physical symbol of the senior class, such as a torch or banner.   The occasion also frequently includes the reading of a senior will by the outgoing group and a prophecy by the incoming group.   These may be humorous or relatively serious attempts to predict the future and to perpetuate the influence of the graduates in the school.   Generally included in the class day celebration is a dance, dinner, or some other entertainment which is highly valued by the students.

Commencement ceremonies.   There are, of course, other ceremonial occasions connected with the graduating process.   The commencement ceremony is perhaps the most significant, but in many places the baccalaureate religious service has co-ordinate importance.   In all these activities the symbolism is a major element in all the ceremonies.   In many the original meaning and purpose of the symbols have been lost.

Taken as a whole without reference to the immediate function of a particular occasion, the ceremonies of the commencement period have several functions in American education.   In the first place they emphasize the value and importance which we attach to education in our society.   This is of particular significance for the younger students who may be stimulated to a belief in the vast power of education and be motivated thereby to a continuation of their own educational program.   The desire of the parents to see their children participate in the commencement activities gives major support for the continuation of the ceremonies.   This also involves the parents and other persons in the community in supporting the educational program as a whole.   They cannot have sons and daughters or relatives and friends being graduated from high school or any other unit unless they have provided the school facilities in which the education occurs.   Support of the schools is thus enhanced by the commencement activities.

For the graduates, commencement provides public recognition of the level of learning and maturity they have achieved.   It also

celebrates their passage from one period of life to another.   It is one of the most significant rites of passage we have in our society. Graduation marks the achievement of adult status for many.   The commencement also serves as a reward to the student for his persistence and efforts.

Reward Ceremonies.   In addition to the commencement activities, most schools have other ceremonial occasions at which they make awards and give recognition for achievement in various school activities.   These may include anything from academic recognition by means of an honor roll to the presentation of a blue ribbon to the best pie baker.   The elementary-grade teachers develop all sorts of reward ceremonials in connection with learning and with other activities of the group.   On the high-school level these recognition programs are frequently the occasion for an all-school assembly. In such cases the presentation and acceptance of the awards frequently take the form of the traditional presentation speech by the principal or the interested teacher and perhaps remarks by the students in acceptance of the awards.   Many schools have a system of school letters or other insignia designed in different manner for participation in athletics, band, orchestra, vocational clubs, projects, or for excellence in academic subjects.

Ceremony in athletic occasions.   Some of the most common and most highly organized ceremonial occasions in the schools today are the pep meetings and organized cheering associated with athletic events.   Waller has given a valuable and interesting descriptive analysis of the pep meeting:

> A crisis situation looms, the group must be organized for that crisis.   The team is to act as the defender of the group in the coming crisis.   It is necessary that they be sure that the school is with them to a man, or the members of the team will not be able to put forth their best efforts.   The technique of conducting pep meetings is pretty well standardized, though subject to some variation.   It is necessary that the team be present; if possible that they should sit together on the stage or in some other prominent position.   It is part of the pep meeting to give the members of the team boundless ego-gratification, which may . . . make them good citizens.   Playing up the members of the team as the set of heroes standing be-

tween the school and disgrace also stimulates interest in athletics by making every other boy who is present wish that he were in place of some member of the team. There is a speech by the coach or a member of the faculty interested in athletics; it may be a red-blooded, fighting, he-man sort of speech, or it may be the sort of speech that recites the cold facts for the consideration of the group. The facts are just about the same in either case. It is made clear that the team approaches a severe trial, perhaps a desperate trial, a situation that calls for reckless deeds of derring-do. But fighting spirit and team play, the willingness to sacrifice individual glory for the benefit of the team will win. And the team is ready to fight and not a man on it is a grandstander. The team is ready . . . to a man they will rather die than surrender; they will fight to the last tooth. . . . All collective representations come in. But the team must have support. The speech ends. There are cheers, the school yell, a yell for the team, a locomotive, a cheer for the speaker, a cheer to keep in practice. The cheer leader urges the students to make more noise; he points out the increased effect of synchronized cheering. The master of ceremonies calls upon the captain of the team for a speech. He states that the team is going to do its best, that he hopes that it will win, that the team badly needs the support of the student body. The other members of the team make briefer speeches or perhaps merely rise in their places. Perhaps there are more speeches. Certainly there are more yells. Very likely the school song is sung. The meeting ends with every-body's emotions aroused, and all the students live in a state of col-lective insanity until after the big game. . . . Students enjoy the pep meeting. What permanent effect it has upon the valor of men and the virtue of women we can only guess. But it gives the student body an enemy to hate that is not on the faculty.[9]

At this time little is known concerning the effect of such ceremonies on the behavior of the youth in the school. It may have an adjus-tive effect in that the child is permitted to project his hatred on an approved out-group rather than on the faculty or some other mem-ber of the school or community group. At the same time the mass activity of the pep meeting may give the student who does not otherwise do so an opportunity to identify himself with the student body and thus lay the foundation for recognition as a part of the school society. The cleavages and clique lines tend to disappear

[9] Willard Waller, *The Sociology* of *Teaching,* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1932, pp. 123–124. Reprinted by permission.

in the pep meeting and the yelling and other evidence of support by even the most rejected person in the school are welcomed. It cannot be proved at the present time that such integration of the group carries over into other school activities, but such an hypothesis would be worth investigation.

Except for the fact that not all members of the student body are present and that the enemy is no longer imaginary but visible on the gridiron, diamond, or court, the organized cheering at the game is probably not much different from that at the pep rally. The pep meeting is intended as a practice session for cheering at games, but as we have already noted, it probably has independent functions. There is, of course, similarity between the two insofar as the cheering at the game is organized and directed by cheer leaders. This emphasizes the two types of cheering, the organized and the spontaneous. The latter arises out of the events of the game and has no leader. In organized cheering the brightly colored costumes and the gymnastics of the leaders are frequently sufficient stimulus for a lusty cheer; but if the team is losing and the crowd sees nothing to cheer, the best leaders may be ineffective. This suggests that the center of attention is the team and the game. The real leadership of the crowd is in the team and the coach rather than in their dramatic agents.

The function of the cheering complex in school athletics is somewhat obscure. Waller [10] believes the behavior is related to, and perhaps a remnant of, the ancient battle cry which served to maintain the morale of the combatants and to terrify the enemy. It is doubtful if the modern counterpart serves this function, although cheering may have had its origin in such historical roots. The battle cry was emitted by the participants in combat and perhaps was directly associated with their emotional involvement in battle. Cheering, on the other hand, is almost exclusively spectator behavior. There is considerable evidence to support the hypothesis that game participants do not consciously hear the cheering in many instances. There may be some unconscious stimulation by the total audience situation, but it is unlikely that the behavior of the players is greatly affected by the fans' noisy demonstrations. The crowd becomes excited over the incidents of the game and many inhibitions are released. In this setting all sorts of suppressed behavior are

[10] Waller, *op. cit.,* p. 125.

displayed. It is permissible to audibly exhibit hostility, as well as other emotional reactions. Cheering is one avenue for such expression. When cheering is organized, the individual is completely protected from embarrassment because he is expected to cheer as loudly as possible. The symbols involved have little meaning beyond the immediate act, but they may provide a stimulating ceremony for the spectators.

Social norms in the learning situation.   The classroom is the scene of traditional school-learning situations. Over the years an elaborate set of culture patterns defining behavior in these situations has developed. Several aspects of classroom culture will be discussed in later chapters. At this point we only call attention to the social situation in which learning is expected to occur in accordance with both a long cultural history and the norms of the immediate classroom situations.

The continual interaction in the classroom requires mutually understood norms of behavior and a set of meaningful symbols. The norms vary from one period of the day to another. At one time no whispering or talking is permitted, while such behavior is allowed or even expected at another time. The shift from one situation to another is controlled by cues given by the teacher or by students in position to initiate a redefinition. A smoothly operating schoolroom is one in which the norms are clearly understood and accepted and one in which all participants receive the cues and understand their significance regarding changes in behavior. This is true both in the traditionally disciplined classrooms and in the more permissive ones found today. Confusion results if the classroom group does not understand and agree on the norms or if communication regarding the immediate definition of the situation is inadequate.

The norms of classroom situations are to some extent commonly understood throughout the community. They reflect the beliefs and sentiments of the adult society and its expectations of the school. At the same time, a slightly varied definition is made for each classroom. Youth with divergent community backgrounds meet in the schoolroom. As they associate with one another and with the teacher, the norms for each classroom situation emerge. The students' expectations are a factor in this process, but in most school-

rooms the teacher is the dominant force defining the norms and limiting the responses. The teacher interprets the community expectations and applies his interpretation of these norms. If the teacher's internalized norms vary from those of the community, another source of confusion exists. For these reasons it is important to know something of the cultural milieu from which the teacher comes.

Cultural background of teachers.   Perhaps the most extensive investigation of teachers' social background is that by Florence Greenhoe. She studied a sample of 9,122 elementary- and high-school teachers from all sections of the United States. The family occupational background was as follows: "Thirty-eight per cent of the teachers report fathers whose occupation was farming, approximately 26 per cent had fathers in business pursuits, and 18 per cent had fathers whose employment was day labor. It is significant to note that only 4 per cent of the fathers were in professional occupations." [11]   This clearly indicates that the majority of the teachers in the sample came from lower-middle-class or working-class families. Since it is likely that a considerable proportion of the fathers in business pursuits were in lower-status jobs or very small businesses, the percentage from the lower occupational strata is greater than that from the total farm and laboring groups.   This occupational distribution shows a larger share of teachers of rural background.   This is further substantiated by the fact that 51 per cent of Greenhoe's samples were born in communities of less than 2,500 population,[12] and an additional 13 per cent were from towns of less than 10,000 population.   The rural-farm and working-class background of the teachers is a significant factor to consider in the culture patterns of the schools.

The educational status of the parents of teachers is also a relevant item in the analysis of the teachers' background.   On this point Greenhoe found that "one-fourth of the teachers reported fathers who had attended college.   At the opposite extreme 47 per cent indicated that their fathers had no high-school education.   About 45 per cent of the mothers had not attended high school, but 14.3 per

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[11] Florence Greenhoe, *Community Contacts and Participation of Teachers,* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941, p. 8.

[12] *Ibid.,* p. 11.

cent had attended college.   Only 13.2 per cent of the fathers had taught school, whereas 20 per cent of the mothers had been teachers." [13]   From this it is clear that the family educational background of the average teacher does not involve any distinctly higher educational culture.

Another factor of significance, at least to the extent of differences between the sexes in the interpretation of the culture, is the sex ratio among teachers.   In 1949–50, approximately 79 per cent of all elementary- and secondary-school teachers were women.[14]   The school, therefore, is likely to be dominated by women's interpretation of the norms of society rather than by those of men.

The typical American teacher brings to the school predominantly rural cultural norms as they are found among the families living on farms and in the lower-middle occupational strata of the smaller towns.   Although they may have risen somewhat in status, it is probably safe to describe their values and sentiments as rural and conservative middle-class.   Such teachers are not likely to adjust readily to the varied behavior found among urban youth.

The teachers' specific expectations are discussed later in relation to the socialization process.   In broad terms, these expectations are made on the assumption that the child will learn what the teacher and the community consider important.   No other activity should be permitted to interfere with this one.   Such activities do enter the school scene, but usually not with the approval of the teaching staff.   Teachers place a high value on school attendance and punctuality in doing one's assigned tasks.   Honesty and responsibility for one's own work also have a high place in the teacher's mode of conduct.   These are all related to the teacher's main goal for the students — learning.   Generally the teacher's authority should not be questioned with regard to these norms.

Two other middle-class norms — respect for property and strict sex codes — are high on the list of teachers' norms.   There are school mores concerned with many other areas of behavior, but those mentioned are considered most important by teachers in general.   To the extent that the teachers represent and interpret accurately the moral codes of the school, these are the areas in which

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11.
[14] *Biennial U. S. Survey of Education, 1948–50,* Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, p. 9.

certain types of behavior are most highly valued.   The codes in the cases of sex behavior, obscenity, and dishonesty are essentially those of the religious, rural, middle-class society from which most teachers come.   These are the codes most Americans verbally support, even though they may not carry them out in practice.   The codes concerning school attendance, interest in school work, and recognition of authority of the teacher are peculiar to the school society and are defined in terms believed to maintain an undisturbed school routine.   These and other aspects of the school culture remain relatively constant.   The school mores are therefore generally in harmony with those of the more conservative segments of our society.

School folkways.   Many of the culture patterns described earlier in this chapter could readily be classified as folkways and could be included in the discussion at this point.   Under this rubric are some of the customs or traditions which vary from school to school and between different groups within a school.   Among these are the type of clothing worn, school songs and yells, traditional public programs, annual games, legends and myths about teams, events of the past that are often repeated, attitudes toward the schools, stereotyped concepts of the relations between various persons and groups in the school, and language peculiar to the school culture.

"I want a dark skirt that swirls," affirms a seven-year-old girl as she returns from school one day, "All the girls are wearing them." Thus, early in the school years the child comes to a realization that failure to dress like the other children at school hampers one's integration in the group.   The visitor can readily learn clothing folkways of a school if he observes the children on a typical day. In one school the boys may wear overalls and the girls gingham, while their cousins in another may be attired in the counterpart of white-collar workers.   The fashions and fads in bobby socks, sweaters, shoes, and shirts come and go, but always there are accepted modes of dress at a given time.   Inability of the child to acquire the current attire may seriously affect his status in the group and hence his social adjustment.

The embarrassed attempts of students to sing a song they do not know attest to the fact that all are expected to know school songs.   Participation in the traditional yells and knowledge of some of the myths and legends that concern the school are also required.

For the most part these habits are acquired early in the child's association with a particular school, and they are uncritically passed on to the newcomers.   Moreover, the habits are constantly reinforced by repetition.   This repetition may be doubly effective when it occurs in the ceremony occasioned by a pep rally, game, or commencement activity.   The legends that become traditional in a school are frequently associated with important annual events, such as games with strong rivals, class plays, or senior privileges.   Such legends serve to perpetuate the events and to emphasize their importance.   These events become traditions, and the behavior associated with them must be understood by all the students.

There are many informal but well-known patterns of relations between various persons and groups.   In one school it is accepted that the high-school boys and girls should pair off into more or less "steady" dating couples.   In another, the youth of the same age groups participate in all activities as mixed gangs or cliques.   In the former, the boy or girl who does not have a steady date is frequently considered a bit odd and is excluded from various activities.   In the latter, to date regularly the same girl prior to the last months before graduation is inappropriate and likely to result in the isolation of the individuals from the various cliques that are the core of interpersonal relations.   Other patterns of such relationships could, of course, be described.

In a similar manner there are local cultural definitions of the relationship between the teachers and their students.   In general the relationship is expected not to resemble that popularly described in terms of "teacher's pet" or similar phrases.   The extent to which the teachers and pupils may interact on a personal basis without being criticized is always understood by both.   For the most part, the restrictions are quite narrow.   The teacher dares not become familiar with the student, and the student who seeks the help of, or association with, a teacher is likely to be condemned by his fellow students.

Associated with the restrictions on teacher-pupil relations is the traditional attitude toward students who do superior work in school. There are schools in which a high level of academic achievement is respected and emulated; but in spite of variations in this attitude, every school participant knows something of the accepted level of achievement in his own school.   In many and perhaps most Ameri-

can schools today, superior academic achievement as evidenced by grades does not carry with it high value among the fellow students. The "brain" is not a name to which many students aspire. The autobiographical statement of a Midwestern girl is illustrative.

> Sue was a brilliant student who had also managed to be popular among her schoolmates. She explained this as follows: "I learned early that the boys and girls did not like me if I always got higher grades than they did. For this reason I always either kept my examination and other marks a secret or told the other students that I got a lower mark than I did. Frequently in class and sometimes on examinations I would purposely make incorrect responses so that they would not get the idea that I was too smart."

Of course a certain level of academic achievement is desired by most students; they are not expected to fail, but to do just enough to get a respectable grade. This is usually an average or near-average mark. In other words, as long as the child is not on the extremes of academic achievement, he is accepted by the group. The superior student may be given verbal praise, but he may also be excluded from many of the activities of the group.

Still another aspect of school culture is the jargon of the students. Adolescents in the secondary schools frequently develop a vocabulary unique to their own group. The common meanings attached to words in the adult society sometimes have little relation to the adolescents' connotations. The segregation of the youth in the school makes their divergent language possible. To some extent this unique language increases the barrier between the adolescents and adults. This, in turn, may lead to a more divergent school culture.

SPECIAL CULTURE PATTERNS IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS

Throughout this discussion it was noted that although behavior of the common patterns indicated could be found in all schools, varied patterns are expected in different schools. For example, some groups have one set of graduation ceremonies, while other schools have a different set. All have some ceremonial occasions of the type mentioned. All the students of the group involved share in the expected behavior.

In addition to these and other patterns, in most schools there are numerous special norms shared by only a limited subgroup of students who assume particular roles in the school.   There is a number of groups in every school with a special set of recognized and permitted behavior patterns that have not been adopted by those outside the group.   These groups may be high-prestige groups, or they may be groups which are discriminated against because of their special roles.   It is impossible to know all the specialties that may exist in the great multitude of schools.   There are, however, some which may be noted in many schools, although the exact nature of the cultures vary.

Special culture of athletes.   One of the most common of the special culture groups in American schools is that of the athletes.   A prime requisite for the development of a distinguishable specialty is that the group of specialists be recognized by others in the society. In most cases this is true not only of the student body, but also of the adult members of the community.   Of course, the newly arrived athlete may not be known to be one of the special group, but those of greater experience are widely recognized.

Frequently this recognition is based in part on distinct items of clothing.   Those who have received awards in previous years wear the sweater, letter, or other symbol of athletic achievement.   The entire team may on occasion wear the school-owned jacket which is a part of the playing uniform.   Occasionally, some other distinguishing item of wearing apparel, such as a necktie, is a symbol of the special group membership.

The students also come to know the athletes because of some of the special privileges they enjoy.   They may be excused from classes to play or to practice for an important game, and they frequently are excused from compliance with other school rules.   In addition, those people who attend the games, which in many communities includes most of the population, rapidly acquire a knowledge of the players and accord them the expected recognition.

The position the athlete holds in the school and community results in part from the functions he performs.   Most school administrators recognize the public-relations value of a successful athletic team.   This is one of the few school activities widely publicized and heavily attended.   The students and the adults of the com-

munity come to identify themselves with the successful school team. In this case, neither the students nor the local adults are so likely to be critical of the other aspects of the school program. The morale of the student body is also favorably affected by a successful team. The administrator who understands this is not likely to depreciate the role of the athlete in his school. One administrator frequently indicated his lack of interest in school athletics, but always gave his support to the program because, as he expressed it, "School morale is always better if we have a good team." His occasional criticisms of the athletic program have, however, been a source of irritation in his relations with a portion of the community.

The average administrator who understands public relations and the morale-supporting functions of athletics is likely to permit, or even to encourage, the granting of special considerations to athletes. This may take the form of all sorts of pampering, as one schoolteacher described the process. Teachers give extra time to athletes. Tutoring is often provided so that low grades may not make the student ineligible for the team. The use of the gymnasium and playing fields is reserved for the teams at any time desired, sometimes without regard for the needs of the other students. The team must have no avoidable excuse for a poor showing.

Moreover, a considerable portion of the time of a staff of teachers is consumed with the various coaching activities. In high schools, the salaries of these persons are usually paid from the regular instructional funds of the school budget. Although some people have objected to this expenditure for the training of a few athletes, it is generally accepted and justified on the basis of the coach's other teaching duties and the educational value of athletics rather than because of its public relations and morale-building function. Funds derived from the attendance at athletic contests are also frequently expended for special services to the player. A good dinner or "feed" is frequently provided as a reward for a single, well-played game. Many other similar favors are provided as special considerations.

To many of the students and to some adults, the athlete is also a hero. This sets him apart in the minds of the students, at least to such an extent that the special pampering and privileges are justified by them. In many cases, attempts by the teachers and administrators to force athletes to conform to the behavior patterns of the

remainder of the student body are opposed by the students themselves.   Their heroes are no ordinary students and should not be bound by the academic and schedule requirements of the general school culture.   The case of an athletic squad known to the writer is illustrative.

During the decade of the 1930's, school B had a period of successful athletic seasons.   Both the baseball and basketball teams were unusually good.   On each of these teams were five or six boys who came to be highly honored by the students.   All of these boys were from poor families and some were from relief families.   In spite of this, they were the toast of the entire community.   O particularly was a hero.   His academic achievement was relatively low, but at no time in the three years of his participation in athletics was he ineligible because of failing grades.   Teachers very likely gave him the benefit of any doubt in grading, but the other students also assisted.   Papers were written for him, bookkeeping work was done for him, and he was assisted in all other possible ways.   This was considered entirely proper in his case, but it would not have been done or condoned for nonathletes.

The fellows on these teams were given all sorts of privileges particularly during their senior year.   They would run errands during school hours and were permitted to do almost anything they asked.

Athletes' Code.   In most schools there is a special moral code among athletes.   In every athletic squad I have ever known, it was considered proper for each member to appropriate various items of athletic equipment for his own use.   Socks, jerseys, sweat shirts, and towels are the items most commonly taken for personal use. These boys would not usually condone such behavior by anyone else or among their own group in any other situation.   The players seem to regard being able to supply themselves with such items of equipment as a mark of prestige.

Other aspects of the athletic code are less subject to reproach by the outsider.   Some years ago an athlete playing under the writer's direction learned that he had been seen smoking cigarettes.   The morning following this event, he came to the coaching office and explained that he had been smoking since he was a small boy and did not see how he could quit.   After this explanation and with much emotion, he offered to turn in his basketball suit and sever his

relationship with the team.   It was not accepted.   He continued on the team and was graduated from high school.   He is now an accepted teacher.   There had been no great emphasis on abstinence from smoking as part of the training rules.

Such training rules as regular hours of sleep, restrictions on dating, and regular attendance at practice sessions frequently set the athlete apart from his fellows.   In addition to these differences between the athletes and other students, there are others, the effects of which are less readily observed.   One of the experiences of the athlete which holds great interest for others in every school is the personal relationship between the coach and the players.   The discussion that occurs in pregame and half-time conferences is frequently thought to be something that will have a significant impact on the players' motivation.   The writer's experience in all the roles in this situation does not lead to such an evaluation, but the fact that others cannot participate in this behavior leads them to retain it as a symbol of the special character of the athlete's culture.   The publicity the athletic teams receive, the trips as a group, and the close personal relations among team members may each provide a sort of experience rarely known to other students.

As a result of the various experiences that set them apart, it is not uncommon for athletes to think of themselves as special students.   They come to feel that theirs is a superior contribution to the school life and that the school, therefore, owes them special consideration and rewards.   No doubt the financial remuneration received by professional athletes and the special scholarships on the college level have some influence in the development of this attitude.   Regardless of the factors producing the feeling, our purpose here is to show that the athlete considers himself different.   This may be seen in the frequent expression on the part of the athlete that the school owes him special consideration.   Athletes may justify the appropriation of equipment for personal use on the basis that they have earned the money with which the school has purchased the equipment and therefore they should take whatever they want.   The various awards and privileges are also frequently looked upon as obligations of the school, rather than recognition of achievement in the competitive sports.   The high status of the athletes in the school makes this attitude very difficult for the school administrator to change, for the other students would generally support the athletes in their claims.

If cleverly mobilized, the school administrator can use this special prestige of the athlete to assist him in maintaining a well-controlled school with high morale. If the athletes are against him, however, the administrator may have great difficulty in obtaining the co-operation of the student body.

Athletic symbols.   All sort of symbols serve to identify the team with the school and community. Among these are names, colors, songs, yells, bands, as well as many other less universally used symbols. It may be significant that many are those of the "fighters" from the bird and animal kingdoms as well as from our own species. Note such names as Eagles, Hawks, Tigers, Cubs, Bearcats, Yellow Jackets, Bulldogs, Red Devils, Indians, Vikings, Spartans, and Fighting Irish. Other names serve to identify the team directly with the school. Still other names are derived from the colors which the team wears. Thus color becomes a double symbol. The school colors are important symbols of identification for both the team and the fans. The same may be said in regard to school yells, rituals of the cheer leaders, school songs, banners, mascots such as symbolic animals, and ceremonies in which the crowd participates during the game.

All of these symbols and devices serve to increase the degree of identification between the fans and the players. Thus the fans will be heard to say that *we* did this or that, when actually only the players did so. The members of the team tend to lose their identity as individuals and to become a part of something which grows out of this intense emotional identification. In a sense this something is the team, but in another sense it is even more inclusive; it may be the school, the community, or the whole body of fans.

Many other factors are important in molding the athletic squad into a group with high morale. There are definite team ethics and standards which must be maintained. These standards are concerned mainly with the quality of performance and the observance of training rules. In most cases the standards are set by the coach or manager. They are accepted by the players because of the belief that they must be maintained if the team is to succeed.

Other special group cultures.   There are numerous other activity groups, such as band and orchestra members, debating groups,

those who work on the school paper or school annual, and other activity clubs that may have many of the special culture characteristics noted for the athletic teams.   With certain variations, the same patterns of pampering, excusing from classes, recognition of public-relations value, and distinct codes of behavior can be found for many of the other activity groups.   But since the public is less likely to pay a regular admission fee to see the nonathletic groups perform, the expenditures that can be made to provide special favors to such groups are limited when compared to those for the athletes.   This and other limits of community support generally make the other groups less widely recognized as those which behave in terms of a special set of culture patterns.   However, there are schools where some other group is more specifically recognized than the athletic team.

In addition to the various school activity groups, there are, in many schools, other special groups that have only unofficial school sponsorship, or none at all, but which develop from the patterns of interaction that exist in the community and the school itself.   In many schools special elite groups have partial recognition by the school authorities and are expected to behave in terms of special culture patterns.   The office cliques discussed in the following chapter illustrate this point.   Just as there may be special elite groups, there may be other groups based on differences in home background.   Youth from the same social strata are attracted to one another and develop their own specific patterns of behavior. This is illustrated by a group of rural farm children who attended a town high school.

> A group of fifteen or twenty boys and girls from the surrounding farm area attended G high school.   They had obtained their elementary education from the various rural schools in the area and commuted to the county seat of about 6,000 population for their high-school training.   The fact that they left immediately after the close of classes prevented them from participating in many activities.   Since they were usually acquainted with some others of the rural children and not with many of the residents of the city who had attended the elementary schools there, these youth usually found their friendships limited to their own group.   They rarely participated in the activities with other students and were therefore expected to limit themselves to their own activities.   The town stu-

dents looked upon them as outsiders who were quite inferior. The rural students, in turn, thought of the town group as different from and less righteous than themselves.

Such groups have their own special codes of behavior, although they may not involve special privileges in the school as the more elite culture groups do.

SUMMARY

The society of youth in school lives in terms of accepted and relatively permanent patterns of expected behavior which is a somewhat varied subdivision of the general culture. It is within this subculture that the child acquires his formal educational experience. In order to understand the nature of the impact of this experience on the personality of the child and the influence of the individual on the social group, it is necessary to have an understanding of the cultural milieu within which he lives. The major aspects of the social-cultural environment may still be largely out-of-school relationships, but to the extent that the school presents a variation of this culture, it must be recognized. It is understood that the cultural patterns of the community continue as part of the life of the school.

Some of these apply to all students with little variation. There are also some patterns of behavior expected of certain groups of students and not of others, but these are understood and approved by the total student group. In every school, the behavior of the student is defined in terms of the subculture of the school as well as that of the larger society.

Questions for Discussion

1. Is the child conscious of the ritual of school influencing his life?
2. Is it your opinion that the group integration of the pep meeting is carried over into other activities?
3. "Teachers place a high value on school attendance and punctuality in doing one's assigned tasks." What relation does this teachers' expectation have to the expectations in the adult life of the community?
4. Is there any comparison between the special position given to school athletes and that given to other groups in society at large?

5. How are the cultural norms of dress in a high school different from the norms for the community at large?

Suggestions for Further Reading

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8.   Social Structure of the School

EVERY SCHOOLTEACHER, ADMINISTRATOR, AND student knows something about the social structure of the school. In the same way, every person who is a part of any social group understands something of the nature of the relationships that exist between himself and other members of the group.   Every child who attends school and every adult who has attended school can describe some of the characteristics of the relationships between students and teachers and between various students.   In the same way every teacher can describe the relationships between herself and the school board, the administrators, and other teachers.   The images all of us have of the social relations in the school society are individual pictures of the school social structure.   For most people these pictures are highly personalized and involve the relationships between particular personalities.   Mr. Jones, the principal, does not like Miss Smith, the Latin teacher, and their relations are strained. We are not here concerned with such personal relationships, but we will attempt to describe the significant positions in the school society and the relationships that commonly exist between these positions.   The raw material upon which such an analysis is based is the common or repeated interpersonal relations of which all are aware.

The school, like other social systems, can be examined in terms of the positions which the various people in the group occupy. Different persons behave somewhat differently in each position, but in spite of these personal variations, each situation calls for certain

kinds of behavior. By a position in the social group we refer to the images people have of the behavior of persons who occupy this place and the expected set of relationships with others in the group. Thus everyone in American society recognizes that the position of the father refers to certain types of behavior. When we refer to *father* in the American family, it is not necessary to identify the person occupying this position in order to know something about the behavior of people having this status. In the same manner the position of a particular kind of schoolteacher, or even of teachers in general, is identifiable without reference to particular persons. Elementary-school teacher, coach, principal — each calls to mind relationships to students and others which are commonly understood in our society. It is, of course, true that every person who occupies a particular position in the family or in the school has some idiosyncratic ways of acting. There are, however, expected behavior patterns generally recognized as necessary to fulfill the position.

In analyzing the social structure of the school, we shall examine the nature of significant positions in the school society and the common relationships between them. In each case it must be understood that we are discussing types or constructs of both positions and relationships and not particular cases. No one person would behave in exactly the way the positions are described here. We will generalize and abstract from the common behavior patterns the significant characteristics of various positions in the school system.

Every teacher and every pupil who reads this will have an image of the positions and behavior we describe. Seldom, however, does the participant examine in an abstract and detached manner the expectations attached to the places which he and others around him occupy. Such an analysis is necessary to understand the social structure of the school or any other social system.

In broad terms there are two levels of social structure in the school. One involves the adults in the school and the relationships among them. Thus the school board, administrators, teachers, janitor, and others are involved in a system of adult relations. The second level concerns the extensive system of positions and relationships involving students.

Since the students of several age groups in widely varying activities greatly outnumber the adults, there is a greater variety of statuses

in this system than in the adult structure. In order to understand the nature of both social structures, it is necessary, of course, to recognize the relationship between the two groups. Although we recognize again that only limited analyses have been made of the school social systems,[1] we shall indicate some of the salient characteristics of these two parts of the school social structure.

THE ADULT SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN THE SCHOOL

Every school board member, administrator, or teacher occupies numerous positions in other social groups. These are likely to impinge upon the behavior of particular persons in the school situation, but they will have only limited impact on the expectancies of the school position. Any attempt to make an exhaustive analysis of the nonschool positions of such adult personnel would involve a tremendous range of social groups.

The school board in relation to other adults.   As representatives of the school community, the school board occupies a position similar to that of the board of directors of a corporation. In this respect they are employers of certain kinds of labor, and policy makers for the school organization. In the latter capacity they at least have the power to give official sanction to decisions made by others. Frequently other persons in the community are the decision-makers; in these cases the board members simply represent the power-figures. The school administrator is often allowed to make many decisions. In all of these instances, however, the school board reserves the power to approve or to disapprove in an official manner the decisions of other groups. In this respect the board gives legitimacy to the action.

In its relationship to the adult employees, the school board is in the position of employer. The board may delegate employer responsibilities to the superintendent or other administrators, but in many cases it retains a distinct employer's role. When the board delegates to the superintendent responsibility for employing teachers or other workers, to some degree, it still retains the decision-making power. Not infrequently the board frankly occupies the employer

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[1] Although these data are limited in scope, reference is made in this and in the following chapter to several studies.

position.   A Pennsylvania board member reported an incident in which he disagreed with the superintendent's recommendations on a particular teaching position.   When asked how he justified the refusal to employ the recommended teacher, he simply said, "We're the boss.   We're supposed to run the school."

In its role as employer, this school board, like many others, regarded teachers as hired labor.   Teachers have sought for many years for a professional status similar to that of doctors and lawyers. Undoubtedly, this has had some impact on the relations between the school board, as representatives of the community, and the teacher.   Nevertheless, teachers are generally looked upon as employees with some special knowledge and skill.   The school board considers them somewhat more skilled than janitors, bus drivers, or repairmen, but not as professional persons to whom they go for special advice.   Patients expect the doctor to tell them how to recover from illness.   Clients expect lawyers to make decisions and to give the orders.   School board members have no comparable expectation of teachers.   Instead, they hire teachers to do a skilled type of work requiring special educational achievements and expect them to occupy the employee position.

In some extreme cases, the school board may see its relationship to teachers as one of master and servant.   Upper-class or wealthy people who employ tutors or send their children to private schools may look upon their relationship with teachers as similar to that with maid or housekeeper.   The teacher is employed to do a particular task for which the parents are responsible, but do not wish to do.

Some college and university boards, like some public-school boards, see themselves as complete masters of the teachers.   In the play, *The Male Animal,*[2] Thurber and Nugent dramatized the relations between such a university board and its faculty.

At the other extreme there are some school boards that maintain a professional relationship with their teachers.   Such a situation is rare.   In them, the teacher may be related to the school board in a manner similar to the relationship of the doctor or lawyer to his client.   Although teachers and administrators strive to establish themselves as professionals, at the same time they follow a

[2] James Thurber and Elliot Nugent, *The Male Animal,* New York: Random House, 1939.

policy which does not lead to professionalization. In recognition of their position as employees, most school administrators and teachers repeatedly emphasize that they try to provide the education which the community desires. This consistently reinforces the pattern of employer-employee relationships.

There are other variations in the relationships between the board and teachers. The most common one, however, is that in which the board occupies essentially an employer position and retains the power to make decisions concerning the employees. The near universality of this relationship between the board and nonteacher employees makes further discussion of the board's relation to them superfluous. Absence of licensing, and limited state regulations place such employees in a distinctly less professional position.

Administrator's position in the school society. The position of the school administrator varies according to the particular position involved. In many respects it is characterized as a "middleman" position between the teaching staff and the school board. Such a position has several facets. In some respects it is a straight chain of command or line position. In others it is a staff-consultant position. Another facet involves policy-formulation. It should be recognized that there are situations in which none of these applies in specific detail. But in his official or formal position, the administrator is essentially a middleman.

In the formal middleman position, the administrator functions as a line official in many activities. He transmits the policies and orders from the school board to the teachers. In reverse he is the channel of communication from the teachers to the board. He transmits teachers' requests for equipment, salary adjustments, and other information which teachers and the administrator himself consider essential for board action. In larger school systems various administrative officials possess delegated decision-making responsibility. They may hire and dismiss teachers and make decisions about curricula and many other policies without board action. If the organization of the school is strictly a line one, the teachers will always communicate to the administrative group, and only the administrators will communicate with the board.

The second facet of the middleman position is a staff or consultant function. Here the administrator plays a more professional

role. He is presumed to have superior professional knowledge and skill. As a consultant to the board, he formulates policies and verbalizes the philosophy of the school. In this role he makes recommendations to the board for its approval or disapproval. This characteristic of the position is particularly noticeable with regard to curricular or extracurricular activities for which the board may not wish to take the time or does not feel qualified to act. Most school administrators seek to develop this aspect of their role to a maximum level. If the board respects the particular administrator's ability and qualifications, it may accept his recommendations in most matters of policy. In other cases it may rarely consult him and may disregard his recommendations when given.

The other side of this role as consultant involves the relationship between the classroom teacher and administrator. In larger systems teachers generally turn to the principal or some other subordinate administrator for consultation rather than to the superintendent. In small systems there is little differentiation between the levels of administrative positions. In either case teachers frequently assume that the person who occupies the administrative position has either superior knowledge or superior influence and therefore seek his advice. The teacher may achieve some protection by using the administrator as a buffer between herself and particular students or their parents. By asking his advice she transfers responsibility to the administrator. She then expects him "to stand behind her" in such actions. By this she generally means that she expects the administrator to assume responsibility for any undesired consequences of the action. In this way she puts the administrator squarely between herself and the board or other powers in the community. He thus becomes the safeguard as well as the advisor of teachers.

The administrator's office also involves an institutionalized position of leadership. The superintendent and principal are expected to make decisions and to provide leadership for the teacher group. At the same time both the teachers and administrators believe in equality and the democratic process of decision-making. Seeman points out that this involves several contradictory role expectations.[3]

[3] Melvin Seeman, "Role Conflict and Ambivalence in Leadership," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 18, 1953, pp. 373–380.

In this light the administrator finds himself between the board and teachers, and also in the middle of conflicting role expectations.

Principal as office boy.   Quite a different facet of the administrative position is one we might call the office-boy role.   In larger systems this activity may be assigned to a clerical staff.   In smaller school systems the principal frequently assumes many office-boy functions.   The preparation of reports to the state department of instruction, the maintenance of school attendance records, the keeping of school census data, and the selling of school supplies are frequently major aspects of the administrator's duties. In many schools administrators are the only persons free from classroom responsibilities and therefore the only ones who can run many errands for the teachers or the school.   In some small school systems where a school trustee functions as policy maker, this is the primary characteristic of the administrator's position.   In such communities the school board or school trustees generally retain direct responsibility for hiring teachers, setting policy, and making all decisions which they communicate directly to the teachers.   In rural school systems the county or district school superintendent may be primarily a record-keeper and errand boy for the board and the teachers.   When such a school has a principal, he often is essentially a teacher with some record-keeping and other office duties.

Democratic school administrators.   Administrators frequently strive to redefine the position they occupy.   Apparently, administrators are being taught to function as democratic leaders instead of operating as line officials in the communication of the board's policy decisions to the teachers.   Such administrators expect to act in a chairman's position, while the teachers participate in the formulation of school policy.   Many teachers, however, expect the administrator to set policy and to direct the teachers' activities.[4]   Such administrators also expect the community, through the board of education or citizens' committee, to participate in the formulation of decisions. In this type of social structure, the administrator occupies the position of chairman and organizer of policy-making groups.   In most cases, however, he retains certain aspects of his middleman line or

[4] *Ibid.*

command function. He continues to be the channel of communication between the board or citizens' committee group and the teacher group. No doubt many administrators who function in this position on certain occasions behave in terms of the other definitions of the position. Not all decisions and policies can be formulated by democratic processes involving the teachers and the community. On occasion the superintendent or the principal, with the approval of the board, must make decisions without waiting for democratic action.

Informal relations with the administrator.   We have thus far discussed the position of the administrator as it is formally or officially recognized in the adult structure of the school. This position is frequently circumvented by the informal or unofficial system of relationships; the administrative position may be no different from any other position within the school. Individual teachers may have direct communication with members of the board, so that decisions are made between the teacher and the board member without the administrator's knowledge. This is illustrated by the case of a teacher who had on several occasions requested the superintendent to purchase some playground equipment. The request was never granted, and the teacher continued to carry on his work without the equipment. After several years a friend of this teacher became a member of the board of trustees. Shortly after the election the teacher mentioned that he had been trying for some time to get playground equipment. The equipment was soon delivered although the superintendent knew nothing about the decision of the board to provide it.

In another system a school trustee personally delivered all salary checks to the teachers. This was an opportunity for an informal communication between the teachers and the trustee. Frequently the relationships developed in this system overshadowed the official position of the administrator. In other situations the informal relationships between the administrator and the teacher may be such that an influential teacher performs the functions of the administrative position. The officially designated administrator in such situations may simply be another member of the staff who happens to carry a different title. A person occupying such a position functions only as a messenger for the person in power.

One final aspect of the administrative position which should be mentioned is the subordinate-superordinate relationship between the administrator and the board. Although the administrator may be influential in molding the board's policies and decisions, officially he is, like the teachers, an employee of the community and of the board. Whenever the board is dissatisfied with the quality of an administrator's work, it has no hesitancy in dismissing him. This makes it necessary for the administrator to recognize that the board is in a superordinate position.

Teachers' position in the adult social structure. The position of the teacher in relation to other adults in the school society is characterized by the formal definition of his duties and privileges and by the informal clique relationships among teachers. We have already defined the position of the teacher in some respects by our analysis of the function of the school board and the administrator. The teachers' status requires that they show deference both to the administrator and to the school board.

There are instances, of course, where a teacher's position in the community may involve power greater than that of the board itself. This is illustrated by the following case.

After some years as a teacher, A became a businessman in the community in which he taught. He also was active in the councils of the leading political party. Later he again held a series of teaching positions in the school. After several years of teaching, a school trusteeship became vacant and A used his influence to get the widow of one of the leading politicians elected to this position. She soon decided on the advice of others that A should not be re-employed in the school. He was asked to resign and did so. Immediately a large number of patrons of the school expressed concern about his resignation. When pressed, he informed them that he did not resign voluntarily. Petitions were circulated and a mass meeting was arranged to demand the reinstatement of A or the resignation of the school trustee. The political leaders of the community as well as the patrons were mobilized. The person who had requested the resignation of A resigned her position in the face of the strong demands of both the patrons and politicians. A was reinstated and B replaced the widow as school trustee. B was the choice of the political leaders, but he was selected only after consultation with A.

This case is unusual, for few teachers have such status in the community. Generally, the superordinate position of school trustees and school boards is unquestioned. Teachers who are asked to resign are generally expected to do so quietly. This illustrates a situation wherein a teacher occupies another position in the community which employs him.

As an employee, the teacher is vulnerable to the power of either the board or the administrator. Because of this, a teacher may frequently be the scapegoat for both the superordinate positions. He may have to accept responsibility for difficulties more correctly those of the administrator or the board. Those in authority may make it impossible for the teacher to carry out an assignment successfully, but they seldom take the responsibility for a teacher's failure. The teacher is also frequently assigned unpleasant or impossible tasks because of the administrator's unwillingness to tackle the work. This is illustrated by the case of a school administrator who had for many years also been an athletic coach. When he realized that a bad season was coming up, he turned the coaching responsibilities over to one of the teachers. During the ensuing season, the administrator frequently criticized the new coach and discussed his failure with the patrons. At the end of the season the decision concerning the coach's re-employment was referred to the school board without recommendation. In this way, the administrator was able to protect his own position at the expense of a subordinate.

There are numerous formal or officially recognized differences in teacher positions. These vary from one school system to another. Sometimes there are sharp differences between secondary- and elementary-school teachers in the same building or system. The secondary-school teacher generally has more prestige and higher status than the elementary-school teacher. The supervising teacher's position is also one of higher status. Within the secondary school, teachers of some subjects may have a higher status. There may be variations from community to community in this respect, but usually teachers of academic subjects such as English, mathematics, or social studies have somewhat higher status in the system than teachers of the vocational subjects. Yet in farming- or laboring-class districts, the agricultural or shop teacher may have higher status than academic teachers. The same may be true of the home

economics teacher's position.   Although trade or industrial arts teachers generally have lower status, they may hold other community roles which are not available to teachers of academic subjects.

The secondary school sometimes has a system of rank among teachers of a given area, with a department head or similar position carrying the higher status.   Length of service in the particular school is frequently a basis for such differentials in position.   Thus in most schools the new teacher occupies a position different from that of the old teacher.   Some experienced teachers are sometimes disturbed by a new teacher's failure to recognize this differential. The new teacher is expected to show some deference.   The following description of a small group of new teachers by a woman who had taught in the system for many years indicates something of her resentment of the newcomers and her pleasure at these teachers' failures.

This group was composed of six women teachers who were all new to our system.   Together they ate lunch, rode to work, attended professional meetings, and spent most of their leisure time in one another's company.   They came to only those school functions that were absolutely necessary.   Always they arrived at school and left at the same time as the pupils.   At faculty meetings they worked hard to push through those ideas that would make their work easier or bring them more money.   The other teachers in the system tried for some time to help or to become friendly with them, but they were politely but definitely rebuffed.   Only two of these girls are returning next year.[5]

The failure of this group of young teachers to show proper deference to the older teachers was definitely contrary to this teacher's image of the new teachers' position.

Informal clique relations in school faculties.   The difference in positions between new and older teachers is sometimes the basis for differential clique groupings within the faculty.   The six new women teachers mentioned above illustrate this type of clique formation.   There are numerous other factors that become the basis for such friendship or congeniality groups. Systematic studies of the

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[5] The writer is indebted to a graduate student for the report from which this case was taken.

clique structure in public school faculties are not available, but the following analysis of a faculty clique structure in a small school indicates that such informal groups are significant.

This description of the clique groups in operation in a public school consists of a study of thirty teachers in their interactions.

There are several instances when the entire group meets. The teachers' club, meeting as a professional group, illustrates one such instance; their meeting as a social group would be another. It is evident in these meetings that unity and solidarity are not the rule. In such meetings one finds the clique groups functioning to their best ability to make influence felt or to show prestige.

In analyzing these cliques it is apparent that there are many determinants affecting the formation of the groups. There exists a major division on the basis of sex. The men teachers have a highly organized social clique. They meet every other Monday for the purpose of studying professional problems. This, at least, is the stated purpose of such meetings. So far, in the seven years they have been meeting, the time has been spent playing poker. These meetings seem to result in a good feeling among the men on the faculty.

Perhaps some qualification should be made of the statement in regard to professional problems. While there is no formal discussion of such problems, there is an informal, friendly mention made of situations that exist that might cause some friction. These are usually talked about, as the evening progresses, with good results.

There is another group of men, with almost the same members as the above group, which meets after school in the men's lounge to smoke and to talk of the day's events. The superintendent is not associated with either of these two groups, and there are two or three men on the faculty who do not ordinarily meet with the second group.

Other cliques within the men's group exist on the basis of professional interest. The coaching staff and one teacher form a clique and can be seen frequently talking together. Their conversations seem to dwell primarily on sports and the high-school's activities in relation to sports. There are other casual cliques in other subject matter fields but not nearly so consistent in their meeting. These may be made up of both men and women.

The women form their clique groups on two different levels. One is social; the other professional. On the social level there is an intermingling of high-school and grade teachers, usually on the basis of age. The older teachers, most of whom are unmarried,

have occasional get-togethers in which they indulge in some bridge playing on a rather simple level.   There is also a number of other women teachers, who are local residents, who have formed a clique group on the basis of their religious interests.

The three young teachers (unmarried) form a group by themselves and do not have much in common socially with the rest of the women on the staff.   These three live together and are usually together at social functions which teachers are expected to attend. The remaining group, whose members are married, seems to be pretty well left out of the social activities that are carried on by the older women's group.   These teachers do not seem to be a well-defined group of their own.

Within the school the women teachers in the elementary grades form a clique group and even meet after school twice a week to have coffee and to discuss the problems at hand.   The high-school teachers have no such meetings but seem to stick pretty close together on academic interests.   Three English teachers can usually be seen together sometime during the day and the two commercial teachers often are together.   The home economics teacher seems to be more or less by herself in this situation.[6]

The following analysis of the elementary- and high-school faculties occupying different buildings also gives some idea of clique groupings.

The following legend is used to facilitate interpreting the clique groups:

(*Elementary School*)

A — kindergarten teacher

B — first-grade teacher

C — first- and second-grade teacher

D — second- and third-grade teacher

E — third- and fourth-grade teacher

F — fourth-grade teacher

G — fifth-grade teacher

H — sixth-grade teacher

J — seventh-grade teacher

K — fifth- and seventh-grade teacher

L — kindergarten and third-grade teacher

M — fourth- and sixth-grade teacher

(*High School*)

N — music teacher

P — home economics teacher

Q — commercial teacher

R — agricultural teacher

S — industrial arts teacher

[6] The writer is indebted to a graduate student for this analysis.

(*High School*)

T — superintendent	X — literature and social
U — coach	science teacher
V — assistant coach	Y — librarian and language
W — principal	and arts teacher

Z — science and mathematics teacher

Five distinguishable cliques were the result, more or less, of common location, common levels of teaching, common problems, and common self-appraisal of ability. Further examination of the clique structure revealed a more divergent pattern. Here it was found that both in-school and out-of-school interests and activities were involved in determining the clique.

Clique Number 6 — the sport group. It consisted of T and W who were ex-coaches, U and V, and N, P, Q, K, and M, all of whom were actively interested in sports or married to men who were. This clique met regularly after all sporting events of the school for refreshments at the home of one of its members. Almost all the members were married and lived in places with sufficient facilities for entertaining the entire group. One unmarried member of the faculty, who always went with this group to all athletic events, would always excuse herself from the after-game affairs. Another member of the group, whose wife's job kept her away from the gathering, was often cited unfavorably by certain members of the group. Age may have been a factor in this group. The range was from about twenty-six to forty years.

Clique Number 7 — the younger set. It consisted of teachers K, M, P, Q, and N, plus N's wife. Members of this clique came to this school the same year, were between the ages of twenty-five and thirty, and were interwoven by many secondary likenesses. Teachers K, M, and N attended the same school as undergraduates. N, P, and Q were interested in music. All were golf enthusiasts and all were frequently invited to nonschool functions by the local populace.

Cliques Numbers 6 and 7 functioned outside the school but involved only the faculty of the school. The common factor involved was the use of leisure time.

Clique Number 8 — an in-school clique, was a subdivision of the high-school clique. It had teachers Y and X as a nucleus and sometimes included Z. Teachers X and Y agreed on what was

of prime importance in the high-school curriculum. They held seniority over the other teachers and believed discipline was the secret to education. Z was interested in religious education and became connected with this clique because of a common regard for religious teaching. They were the final critics for innovations of teaching techniques.

Clique Number 9 might be called the boiler-room frequenters. It consisted of all the teachers who allowed themselves to be seen going to the boiler room to smoke. Among these were teachers J, K, N, P, Q, R, S, U, and V. The superintendent, T, was a semiactive member.

Clique Number 10 consisted of U, V, T, W, and K. This group governed the athletic setup of the school. It collaborated on matters pertinent to successful athletic programs, such as keeping the proper participants eligible and keeping them out of trouble. In this clique U and V were the coaches, T and W were ex-coaches now in charge of administration, and K was the coach of the junior-high teams.

In this school system the clique structure seemed to be based on common interests. If only one factor were the basis for the clique, it was usually not a closely-knit organization. Many common interests seemed to result in more closely-knit groups. Some of the factors apparently were age, ideals, interests, and location. The number of members in any given clique seemed to have little consistent effect on the rigidity of it.[7]

In addition to the factor of length of service, which we have already discussed, these analyses illustrate the significance of other factors in the development of informal clique relationships. Among these are the age and sex of teachers. For certain types of activities, the men and women operate in separate, informal systems. Cliques sometimes cut across the sex barrier, however. This is particularly true among married teachers. The cliques involving married women sometimes included the husbands and other men teachers as well as the wives of male teachers. It is evident from these as well as other cases that teaching or some other interest is the basis for clique relationships. Men who are coaching or have fringe relationships to coaching are frequently clique associates. The illustrations also suggest that the habits of the teachers, such as smoking, drinking, and card-playing, are associated with clique relations.

[7] The writer is indebted to a graduate student for this analysis.

Factors in clique formation.   To some extent the formal positions in the faculty structure define the informal clique positions. We noted above that the elementary- and high-school teachers have somewhat different status and are therefore expected to behave differently.   These status differentials are factors in the informal clique relationships.   Some cliques cut across the elementary-secondary barrier, but others are bound by them.   The subjects taught at the secondary level are also frequently factors in clique formation. Ecological factors, such as the location of schools and place of residence, are important in the friendship groups.

There are, no doubt, other factors that effect clique structure in the school faculties.   It is impossible at this point to give an exhaustive analysis of these factors or to evaluate the relative importance of any one.   Our purpose is to examine the existence of cliques and the range of factors associated with these informal structures.   Such relationships frequently have a role in the decision-making, and influence systems operating within the faculty of any school.   For practical purposes the knowledge of the clique structure and of the possible cleavages between the cliques is extremely important in faculty action.   Studies of clique structure and opinion leadership in other social systems have shown the value of operating through informal group relations.   Teachers are more likely to participate in school activities with enthusiasm and to attain the desired results if they can function within such friendship groups.

It is also important, however, to recognize the possibilities of cleavages and struggles for power and rewards existing among informal cliques.   Many times cliques vie for favors of the school board, the administration, the students, or the patrons.   Such competition may be the motivation for superior achievement, but it may also arouse destructive conflict.   In connection with analysis of the clique structure of another school, an observer made the following comment:

> There were no outward signs of conflict among these cliques, but they definitely vied for the power position.   Group 1 was the most powerful group.   Cliques 3 and 4 combined forces in the name of youth and presented a threat to Group 1.   Group 2 had long ago accepted a passive but stubborn role in the school because one or more of this group were friends with someone from another group.   It was impossible for any one of the cliques to cloak itself

in secrecy.   This is best exemplified by a grapevine system that communicated information about the administration's doings.[8]

In this case the struggle for power tended to be vitiated because of the interlocking system of relationships among the cliques.   Communication about the administration traveled from one to the other and this apparently defeated attempts to achieve greater power. Two cliques were reported to co-operate, particularly in their struggle with the most dominant or powerful of the school cliques. This and the other cases demonstrate the extensive interaction among cliques and the frequent shifting of personnel from one to another in terms of the immediate point of interest.

Teacher leadership.   The specific nature of leader-follower relationships among teachers is not known.   Certainly, for some purposes, the formal positional relationships would define leadership to some extent.   Thus, for certain activities department heads, supervisors, and other teachers having superordinate positions would function as influencers.   Analysis of leadership in other groups has emphasized that leadership is not general, but rather specific in a particular situation.   This means that the department-head position does not define leadership in all relations among the teachers.   Leadership is now recognized as a function of the relationships among the people in particular group situations.

Research has failed to reveal any universal personality characteristics of the leader.   Persons are selected for leadership roles through the interaction within the group.   In many group situations, therefore, the formally or officially designated department head or principal may not be the leader.   Various persons may occupy leadership positions in different situations.   In faculty meetings one or two persons may be the opinion leaders; in a social gathering others may occupy the leadership positions.

Nonteaching adults.   There are several other adult positions, such as custodian and school secretary.   In rural schools or town systems, where students come from some distance, a staff of school bus drivers will have at least part-time or fringe positions in the school structure.   Formally all these positions are subordinate to both admin-

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[8] From a term report submitted to the author.

istrators and teachers.   The formal chain of command may be defined as running directly from an administrative position to the janitor, clerk, and bus drivers, but teachers generally consider their positions superordinate to those of the nonteaching adults.   Generally speaking, other people in the community also place the teachers in superordinate positions.   These nonteaching adults usually accept this formal definition of their positions.   They recognize their subordinate position and exert little influence on decisions concerning school policy.

In some schools the informal relationships may modify the position of one of these other adults in comparison to those of teachers and administrators.

At H school, Dick, the janitor, occupied a strategic position in the school policy-making process.   Dick was janitor of the school from the beginning of this consolidated school till his death, approximately twenty years later.   He knew all the patrons in the small community and had been active in local political affairs.   More important perhaps was his own concept of the importance and significance of his activity in the school.   As in many other schools, the boiler room, the place where he lived during the winter months as well as where he did his work, became a hangout for teachers, bus drivers, and others who wished to take a smoke or otherwise get out of public view during the school day.   Dick was particularly helpful to the teachers, and made special effort to make their work easier.   He had all of the teachers heavily obligated to him.   Early in the history of this school, the school administrator realized that Dick had given him sound advice on the organization of the school.   In order to fulfill the advisor role, which he rapidly achieved, Dick sought to learn as much as he could about the work of each teacher.   Through these informal relationships, Dick came to occupy a position in which he could actually decide which teachers were to be re-employed and which dismissed.   Each administrator in turn depended on Dick for information from the community as well as for observations about the school.   No major decision concerning teachers or policy concerning the school was made or adopted without Dick's consultation.

Although it is not typical, this case from the writer's files is cited because it illustrates the possible position that a janitor may acquire through informal relationships.

In another school the clerk acquired similar influence.   Through

long service to a superintendent who gradually delegated more and more work to her, she came to occupy a position very close to that of the superintendent. When the superintendent retired, the clerk was transferred to another position in the school. The new superintendent discovered that many of his official duties and functions followed the old clerk. The informal system of relationships between the clerk and teachers, other administrators, and the board was such that the duties she had performed were still expected of her as a person and not as an adjunct of the superintendent.

Similar relationships between bus drivers and patrons, on one hand, and the school board, on the other, may provide a channel of communication from the school to both the patrons and the board that completely circumvents the superintendent's office. Bus drivers have been in a position to dismiss both administrator and teachers, even though their position is officially subordinate to both.

The informal relations among these adults and other community members as well as teachers are affected by the other positions they occupy in the community. Bus drivers, clerks, and custodians are much more likely to be intimately and completely involved in the social relations of the community than are many teachers. They occupy nonteaching positions in the community. It is difficult for teachers who have not lived in the community prior to their employment to acquire a nonteaching community position. For this reason, communication flows more freely between such persons and other community members than it does between teachers and community members. The "home" teacher who has previously established nonteacher positions may have similar communications with other community members.

Generally the nonteaching adults occupy subordinate positions in the adult structure. Although school custodians, clerks, and bus drivers have such formal positions, the informal positions, as defined by their interpersonal relations in the school community, may have greater significance.

Administrators and teachers also function in a set of informal relationships, but the barriers between them and the community limit the communication that may occur in this situation. Administrators and teachers have been trained to accept and to reinforce the official definitions of their position. This is not likely to characterize the behavior of the nonprofessional adults in the school

system.   Some administrators attempt to define the role of all employees by similar official regulations.   This is seldom accepted by the nonprofessionals as an essential aspect of school organization. Teachers frequently criticize members of these groups for using informal, nonprofessional means for achieving some end.   They at least express the opinion that all school employees follow the official channels and table of organization.   Clerks may occasionally acquire such attitudes, but custodians and bus drivers rarely do, in spite of the educators' efforts.

THE STUDENT SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN THE SCHOOL

Most people have an image of the school that is composed largely of children and adolescents.   The school means a system of friendships and similar social relations which existed during earlier periods of life.   This indicates that the more salient aspects of the student social structure are less formally defined than the adult positions.   The positions of the school board, administrators, and teachers are permanent occupational designations.   The role expectations in these posts are well-known and are integrated into the social system of the community.

In the student society, the various positions and the interrelations that exist are not, to the same extent, a part of the basic community structure.   There are, of course, some recognized and formally defined positions in the student society, but few of these are fully known or recognized by the adult community.   The current definitions of most student positions are little known beyond the school door.   Only a few escape extensive modification from one generation to another.   Such positions as class president, editors, team captains, monitors, and safety patrollers are formally defined and retain a system of somewhat fixed relationships.   But the leader of the sixth-grade girls on Fourth Avenue is hardly a formally recognized position.   It may be more significant to the students in Miss Jones' sixth grade than any of the formally recognized positions.

This system of interrelations is an intersection or mixture of formal and informal structures.   The team captain or the class president may have these designations because of their positions in a system of informal relations within the class or the team.   In the

preceding section on the adult school society, we distinguished between the formally defined positions and the informal interpersonal relationships. In the student society, the two are closely interwoven, and the formal position less clearly defined. They are, therefore, discussed together.

In contrast with the adult school structure, there have been many analyses of the informal structure of student society. Most of these were made by the techniques of sociometric choice or other choice-and-rejection devices similar to those designated as sociometric.[9] Briefly the sociometric method refers to the procedure of asking individuals to indicate the persons with whom they would like to work, attend a movie, take home for a visit, or carry on some other activity. Conversely, the sociometric rejection is the indication of persons with whom the individual would not want to work, go to a movie, or indulge in other activity. This method permits us to diagram the interpersonal attraction and repulsion that exist between various members of a social group. Similar questions, such as "What persons are friendly to you? Which are unfriendly?" have also been used in this manner. In these cases, although the situational referent is not specific, it sometimes produces a similar picture of the situation.

Another method used to analyze the structure of school and youth groups has been the participant-observer method.[10] In this the observer spends extended periods of time with the groups to be analyzed. Through such participation, he is able to record the system of relationships and the images that members of the group have of each position in it. Some of the more clearly defined relationships can be explained by members of a student group. The adults, in constant contact with such groups, can do the same, but an untrained observer or participant may be unable to describe the numerous other interpersonal relations. The participant-observa-

[9] The current use of sociometric and related techniques for analysis of interpersonal relations stems to a major degree from the work of J. L. Moreno and his associates. Many others have used his methods and still others have used modified versions of the sociometric methods. We are using the term here to refer to both the sociometric and other closely related methods. See C. P. Loomis and Harold B. Pepinsky, "Sociometry, 1937–1947: Theory and Methods," *Sociometry,* Vol. 11, 1948, for a survey of this method.

[10] William F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943; and A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth,* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949, report major studies using such methods on young adult and student groups.

tion method is essentially the objective analysis of a social group by a participant in the group. The data, upon which the discussion in this section is based, are drawn primarily from these two methods. To date, these have been most fruitful in the analysis of such groups.

Age-grade positions and their interrelations.   Perhaps the most obvious aspect of the student social structure is the age-grade differences in position. In the previous chapter, we noted some of the cultural patterns associated with the system of grades and promotions. Here we want to call attention to the structural aspect of this system of age-grade relationships.[11]   The major facet of the differential age-grade position is the subordinate-superordinate nature of the relationship. Older students in the upper grades of the school expect and receive deference from younger students. Highschool students are admired by and dominate those in elementary grades. If the school has only elementary classes, the upper age-grade students expect a similar deference from those in the lower elementary grades. This superordinate-subordinate relationship gives the older students much power and control over the activities of younger students. The former have legitimate or recognized rights to influence and to direct the behavior of the latter. The students in each age-grade are expected to limit their association in many respects to their own or near age-grade group.

The superordinate position and related authority of the higher grades are reinforced by many special positions reserved for these youth. The captaincy of the football or basketball team is generally occupied by a senior student. The student government presidency, where the position exists, is generally reserved for a senior. At the elementary-school level, safety patrols, monitors, and other prestige positions are commonly reserved for those in the older grade levels. Frequently many roles have an apprenticeship program through which lower age-grade members may achieve the coveted office when they reach a particular upper-grade level. This may apply to cheer leaders, student managers of athletics, major jobs on the school paper, and various other positions. In each of these, advancement from one level to another is dependent upon the move-

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[11] See Wayne Gordon, *Social System in a High School,* Ph.D. dissertation, Washington University Library, St. Louis, Mo., 1953, for an analysis of the student social structure of one secondary school.

ment from one age-grade to another.   In each case the person in the highest age-group is expected to be the leader or superordinate director of the group.

Within each of these age-grade fragments of the school society, there may be one or more formal organizations.   At the high-school level it is common for each class — senior, junior, sophomore, freshman — to be organized with a president, secretary, and various other officials and committees.   One of the purposes of such official organizations is to guarantee the sanctity of the group and to prevent invasion from other age-grade groups.   At the elementary levels there may be several teachers of each grade level in the school; hence, formal organization is more likely to be based on particular classroom units.   Many teachers encourage the development of a system of formal offices within their elementary-school groups.   These may be less permanent and have fewer official duties, but still they have meaning to the pupils.   The selection of persons for offices in each class or grade often means the formalization of positions in the informal system of relationships.

While associations are usually limited to the student's own age grade or those near the same age, there are some situations in which this is not entirely the case.   In some school activities, members of different age-grade groups associate together.   This may be seen at the high-school level in bands, orchestras, or other musical organizations, as well as in athletics.   In junior high-school and the early high-school years, the differential rate of maturation between boys and girls results in some cross-age dating or predating relationships. Girls at this period sometimes reject boys of their own age grade and find associations with older ones. The older high-school fellows may be severely "razzed" and otherwise punished by their peers for dating younger girls, but in some situations such dating does occur.

In American elementary schools there is little differentiation in the positions of boys and girls.   It is common for both sexes to play together and to participate in identical activities at these age levels. Neither is there any variation in the curriculum provided for each group.   At the junior high-school or early adolescent level, some differentiation in curricula is made for boys and girls.   Except in noncoeducational private or parochial schools, there is little emphasis on the differentiation of formal organizations for boys and girls.

At the secondary level the emphasis upon athletics for boys and

the heavy interscholastic schedules which most high schools carry provide variable activities for each sex. It is quite impossible for a girl to occupy the position of the star halfback. There are comparable positions such as that of drum majorettes open only to girls. Such differentiation is associated with the current definition of male and female roles in the society. The exclusion of girls from most athletics serves to emphasize the notion that men have superior strength and that women should not compete for certain positions. Many other positions are reserved for members of one or the other sex; in some schools it is expected that the president of the senior class will be a boy and the secretary, a girl.

Social structure in relation to the curriculum. The "learner" role in the school is, of course, related in some respects to the social structure of the student group. Success or failure to learn a particular set of skills or body of knowledge may define the individual's position in the student group. At this point, the expectations of the teachers have significance in the definition of each position. The teacher and students jointly define the "A" student's position as well as that of the failing student. Although elementary-school teachers have de-emphasized grades and other measures of achievement more than have the secondary-school teachers, the positions of "good readers" and "poor readers" are still clearly discernible in most elementary-school rooms. Students are usually able to identify the person who occupies the position of the best reader; at least the students themselves are able to tell which reading group is superior and which reading group is inferior. Reading groups are sometimes given special names in an attempt to disguise the fact that they are ability groups. Although "steamboats" are slower at transportation than "airplanes," the first- and second-grade children know that the "steamboats" are better readers than the "jets." Whenever any sort of ability sectioning or grouping occurs, the positions of these differentiated groups are recognized by the students as well as the teachers. Membership in such groups carries with it certain expectancies and gives certain positions. Failure of a new teacher or any other member of the school society to recognize that Johnny Jones belongs to a superior reading group will not be permitted to continue long.

In each classroom group, other more or less formal positions

are established through the interaction of the students.   In the early grades the tables at which the children sit may become the basis for a temporary structure.   Within each seating group, there may be such formally recognized positions as leader, cleanup detail, and messenger.   These structures grow out of the activities of the learning situation.   The teacher frequently formalizes such social groups through committee organization with chairmen and similar positions.

As we have noted in Chapter 5, special curricula have a clear-cut relationship to the status structure of the community.   Students taking particular courses or curricula may be assigned specific positions in the school structure.   These are sometimes related to the community status and sometimes relatively independent of it.   This is illustrated by the case in which the overflow room came to have a particular position in the school structure.   In this school, the size of grades was such that overflow rooms were organized to take care of a few students from two or three elementary grades in which there were more than enough pupils for the regular classrooms in these grades.   Each teacher was permitted to select those students who were to be placed in the overflow room.   This resulted in the transfer of those students whom the teachers considered problems. The students then came to identify the overflow rooms as problem rooms.   Those sent there were known as "dumbbells" or otherwise undesirable pupils.

In cases such as this, assignment to a certain room or teacher defines the positions which the students occupy in certain aspects of the school society.   This may exist in larger schools at the junior-high and secondary-school level more extensively than at the elementary-school level.   In smaller schools where there is a limited curriculum and all students take the same courses with the same teachers, there may be little differentiation of this sort.

Generally students in a particular secondary-school course occupy a special position.   For example, algebra or physics students may have a status different from those in shop mathematics or industrial arts classes.   These positions vary from one school to another.   In one case the vocational agricultural students, organized in a Future Farmers club, occupied a high position and exerted much power in the school group.   In another school, it may be the speech students who are members of a dramatics club or the debat-

ing team who have higher-status positions.   The only generalization that can be made at this time is that courses, curricula, and related clubs of formalized groups are factors in the social structure and the interrelations among various school groups.

Friendships and clique structure in the school.   An Elmtown high-school teacher comments, "This school is full of cliques.   You go into the hall, or the Commons Room, (between classes or at noon) and you will find the same kids together day after day.   Walk up Freedom Street at noon, or in the evening and you will see them again.   These kids run in bunches just like their parents. This town is full of cliques, and we can't expect the kids to be any different from their parents." [12]   It is recognized that participation in such groups occupies much of the time of adolescents.   The size and nature of these informal friendship groups vary considerably. Hollingshead found that the school cliques in Elmtown ranged from two to twelve members.   The average size was five members.[13] Sometimes these friendship groups tended to center around a dominant individual; at other times, they were a system of mutual relationships.   The latter is illustrated by Clique 1 in Figure 6 (on page 211).[14]   In this case the ten girls in Clique 1 composed practically a closed group.   There were nine unreciprocated choices into the group, but only two girls made single choices outside the clique. The numerous mutual choices within the group indicate that it is closely bound together.   Clique 3 also has close mutual ties, but its members made more choices outside the group.   It is much less exclusive than Clique 1.   The variation in size is clearly shown by the several cliques in this illustration.

The importance of these informal clique relations to the individual and in the social structure of the school is well described by Hollingshead after his experience in Elmtown:

A clique comes into existence when two or more persons are related one to another in an intimate fellowship that involves "go-

[12] Hollingshead, *op. cit.,* p. 204.
[13] *Ibid.,* p. 207.
[14] I am indebted to Orden Smucker and Lucille Mick for the patterns shown in Figure 6.   They are taken from Lucille Mick, "A Sociometric Study of Dormitory Cleavages on Michigan State College Campus," M.A. thesis, Michigan State College Library, East Lansing, Mich., 1949.   This thesis was done under Dr. Smucker's supervision.
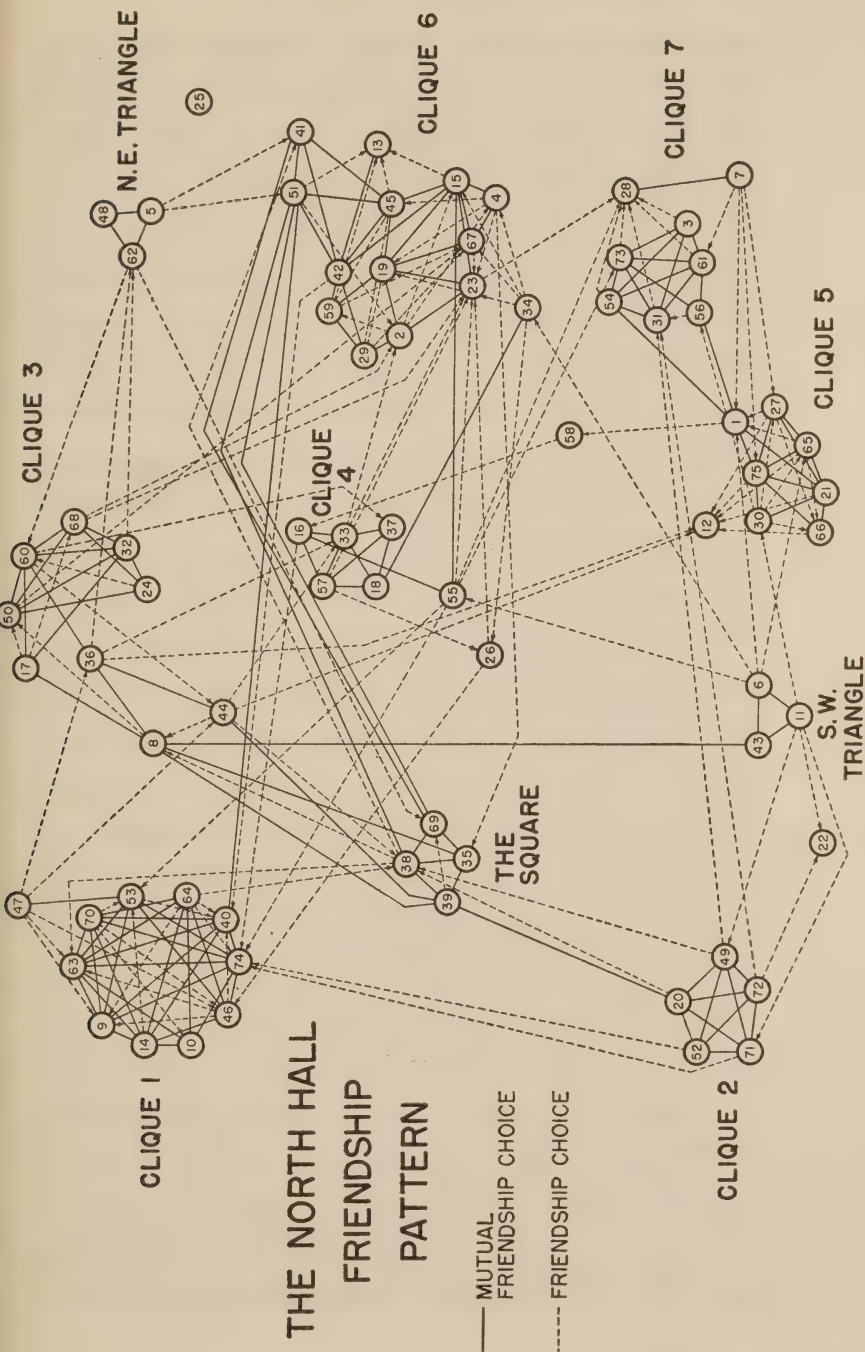
FIGURE 6

ing places and doing things" together, a mutual exchange of ideas, and the acceptance of each personality by the others. Perhaps the most characteristic thing about the clique is the way its members plan to be together, to do things together, go places together. Within the clique, personal relations with one another involve the clique mates in emotional and sentimental situations of great moment to the participants. Confidences are exchanged between some or all members; often those very personal, wholly private, experiences that occur in the family which involve only one member may be exchanged with a best friend in the group. Relations with the opposite sex, with adults, and with young people outside the clique are discussed and decisions reached on the action to be taken by the clique, or by a particular member involved in a situation.

Membership is voluntary and informal; members are admitted gradually to a pre-existing clique and dropped by the mutual consent of its participants. Although there are no explicit rules for membership, the clique has a more or less common set of values which determines who will be admitted, what it does, how it will censure some other member who does not abide by its values.

As the clique comes to be accepted by other cliques as a definite unit in the adolescent society, it develops an awareness of self, a "we feeling," sentiments and traditions which impel its members to act and think alike. Its members frequently identify their interests with the group in contrast to the interests of the family, other cliques, the school, and society. Generally clique interests come before those of the individual member or any outside group or interest. This attitude often results in conflicts between the clique and the family, between the clique and the school, or between the clique and the neighborhood. (If this conflict element becomes the raison d'être of the group, the clique develops into a gang.)

The impact of clique controls on the adolescent produces a sense of his personal importance in his relations with other members, as well as with persons outside the clique, for the clique has a powerful emotional influence on him which he tends to carry over into outside social relations, using it to bolster his own conception of himself. Each member has a group status derived from his ability to achieve something or to contribute something to the well-being of the clique. This group-derived status is often valued very highly by the boy or girl. Thus, the clique is a powerful influence in the life of the person from its formation in the pre-adolescent years until it is dissolved by the development of the dating pattern.

Outsiders, especially parents and teachers, often fail to realize the meaning which the clique has for its members; consequently there is a tendency for them to deprecate it. This may produce more resistance and withdrawal into the sanctuary of the clique on the part of the adolescent, for, in a conflict situation that involves him as a member of the group, the youngster tends to look to the clique for support. The adolescent, bolstered by his sense of belonging to a group that backs him in his efforts to emancipate himself from adult and institutional controls, feels a sense of power, of belonging, of security, and consequently makes decisions in collaboration with his clique mates he would never make alone, as long as his decisions meet with clique approval. Each member of the clique, reinforced by the presence of his "pals" and their agreement that some line of action is desirable or undesirable, that something must be done or undone, produces a cohesive social situation in which the clique acts as a unit. Controls operating in the clique tend to produce uniformity of thought and action on the question at issue. Individuals who do not go along with the decision of the majority are coerced into acquiescence or ostracized, since deviation is tolerated only within narrow limits. Adherence to the group code is guarded carefully by the clique's members, for cliques develop reputations and have favorable or unfavorable status attached to them by other cliques, parents, teachers, preachers, and adults on the basis of their membership and activities.[15]

Clique stability.   There is only limited knowledge of the stability of these informal clique groups. Several studies indicate relatively high but varying degrees of reliability in sociometric choices over short periods.[16] It is clear, however, that such relationships, to some extent, do change from one age grade to another. The reasons for changes in clique structure are apparently factors such as changes in residence, shifts from one schoolroom to another, changes in clique personnel through the achievement of membership in a higher-status clique, and age changes. The latter is particularly true in cliques involving heterosexual relationships. Changes in the informal group structure are illustrated by the

[15] A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth,* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., pp. 205–207. Reprinted by permission.
[16] See C. P. Loomis and Harold B. Pepinsky, *op. cit.;* and *Helping Teachers Understand Children,* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1945, pp. 275–363.

SEATMATE CHOICES AND REJECTIONS IN 1949 WHEN IN 9TH GRADE

MOST LIKE TO HAVE AS SEATMATE
LEAST LIKE TO HAVE AS SEATMATE

MATCHED 1949-52
DROPPED OUT BY 1952
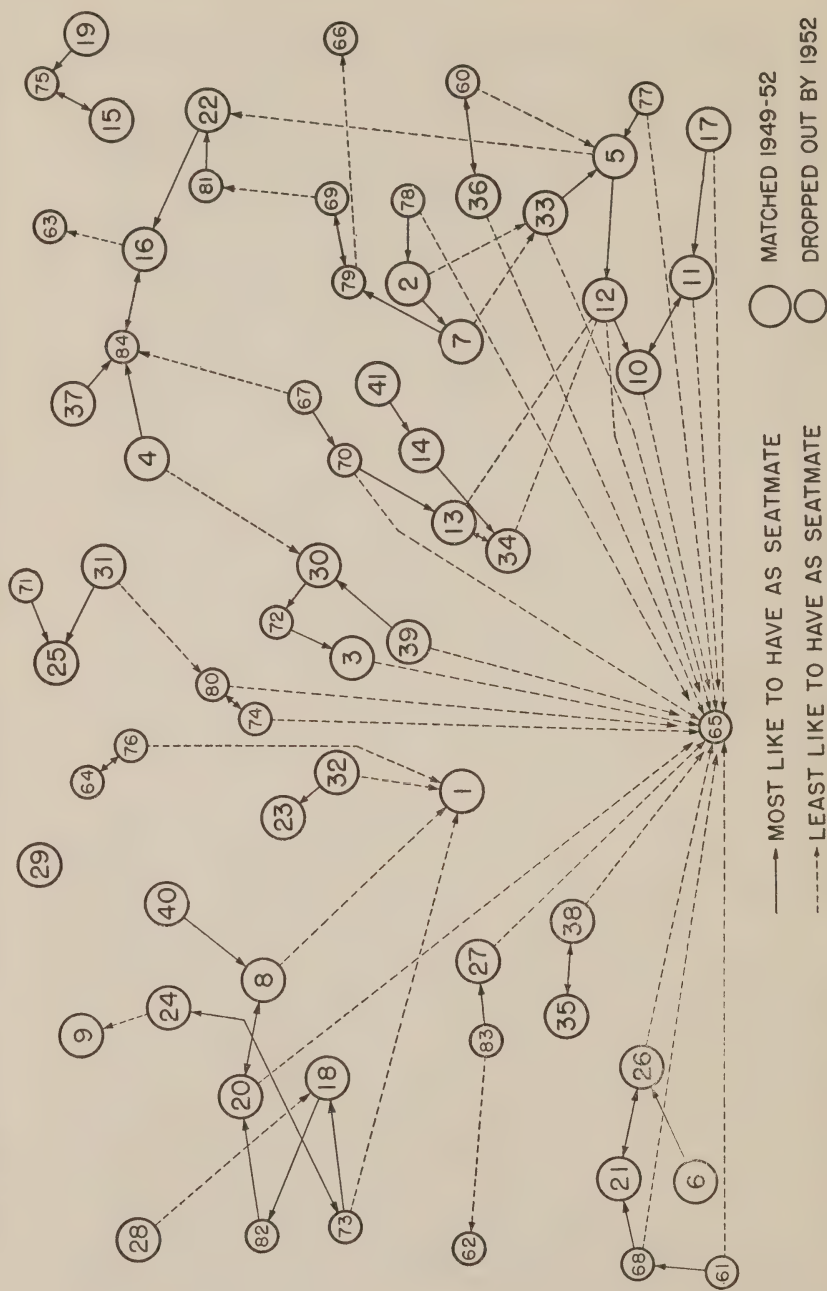
FIGURE 7

SEATMATE CHOICES AND REJECTIONS IN 1952 WHEN IN 12TH GRADE

→ MOST LIKE TO HAVE AS SEATMATE
⇢ LEAST LIKE TO HAVE AS SEATMATE

○ MATCHED 1949-52
○ DROPPED OUT BY 1952
□ ENTERED BETWEEN 1949-52
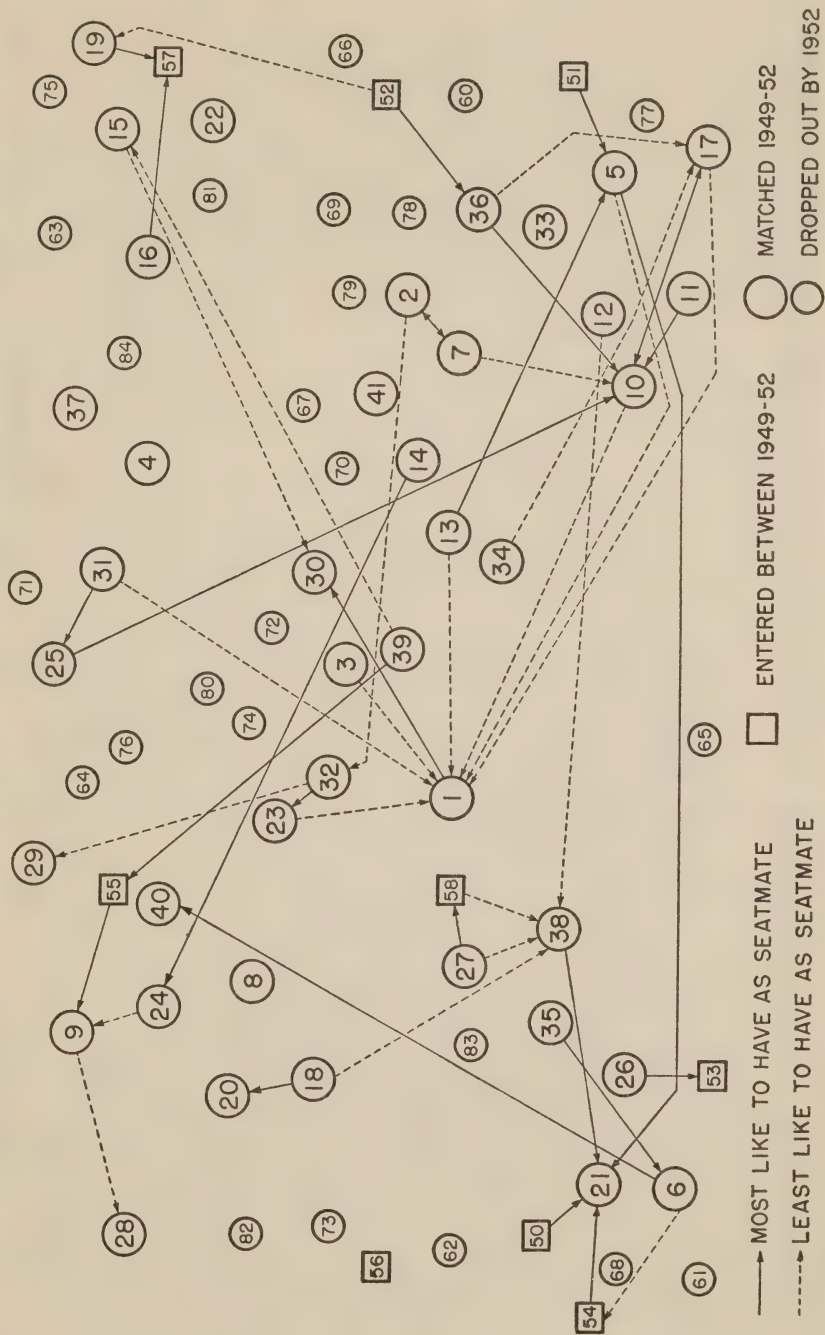
FIGURE 8

MOST AND LEAST FRIENDLY CLASSMATES IN 1949 WHEN IN 9TH GRADE

MATCHED 1949-52
DROPPED OUT BY 1952
⟶ MOST FRIENDLY
----⟶ LEAST FRIENDLY
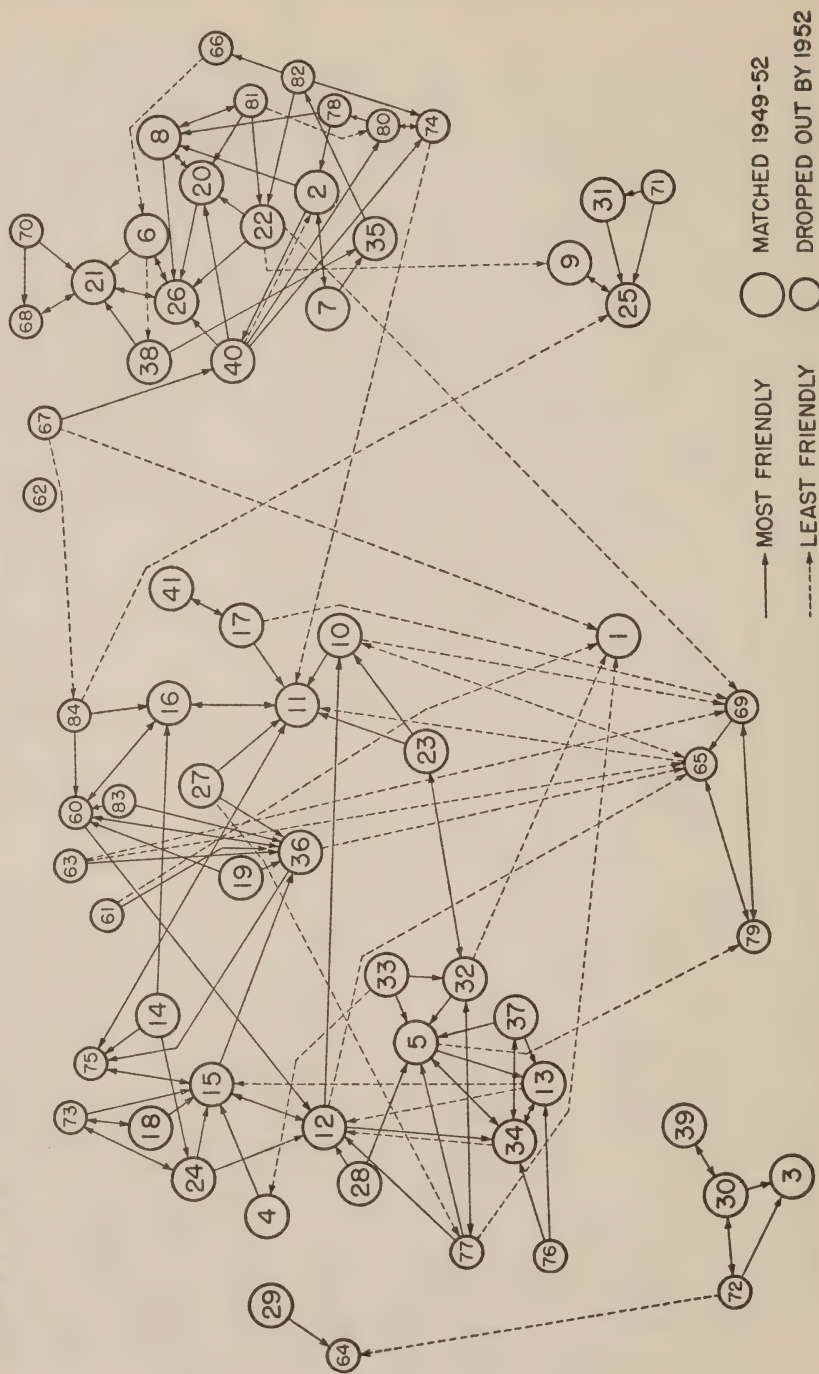
MOST AND LEAST FRIENDLY CLASSMATES IN 1952 WHEN IN 12TH GRADE

MATCHED 1949-52
DROPPED OUT BY 1952
ENTERED BETWEEN 1949-52

→ MOST FRIENDLY
---→ LEAST FRIENDLY
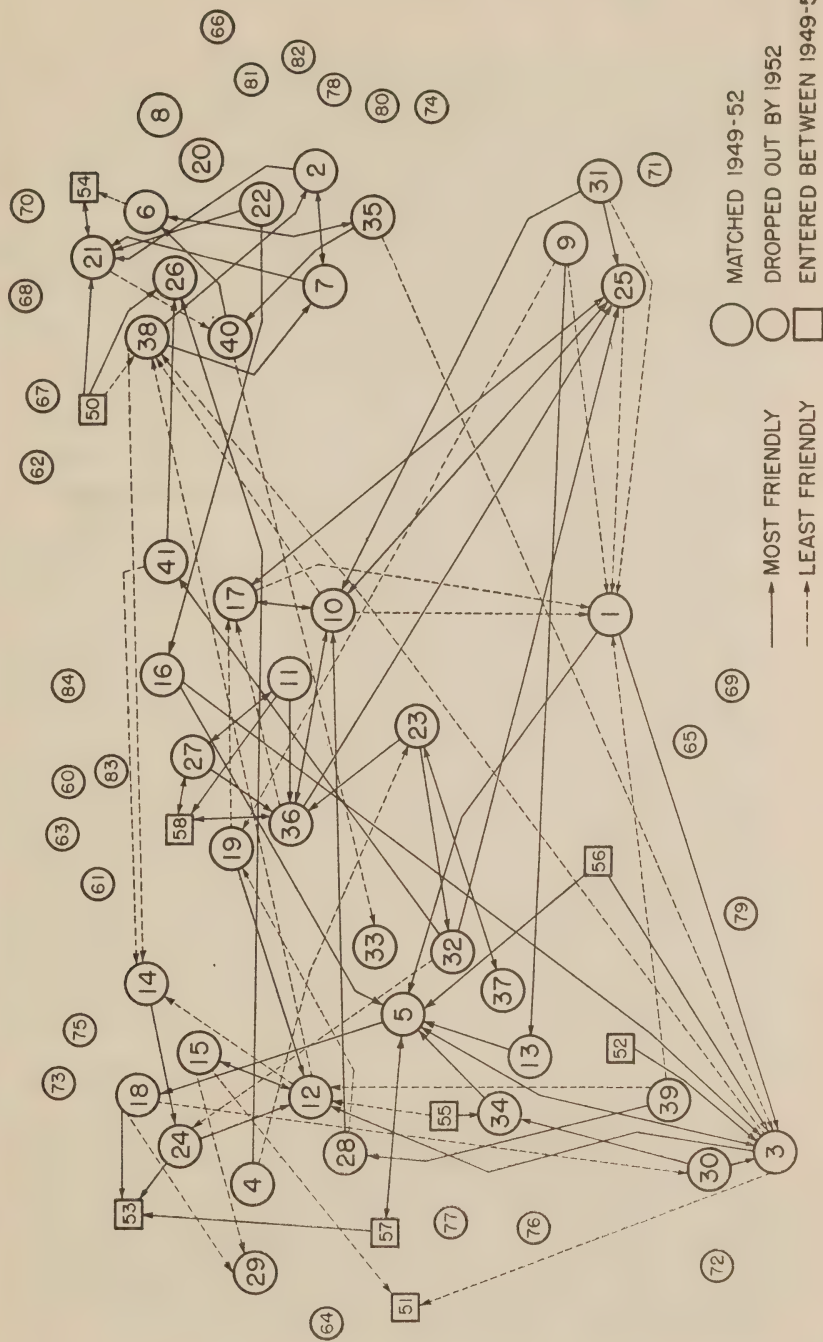
FIGURE 10

friendship relationships diagrammed in Figures 7, 8, 9, and 10 on pages 214–217. The analysis of this class of ninth graders in 1949 and again as twelfth graders in 1952, based on two types of choice and rejection questions, shows the change in clique structure during that period. Some change necessarily occurred because of changes in personnel due to dropouts and additions to the group.

The most obvious change may be due to such a dropout. The boy identified as member 65 was rejected as a seatmate by nineteen classmates in 1949. At that time Number 1, a girl, was rejected by four persons, and Number 38 was rejected by no one. By 1952 rejections of Number 1 had increased to seven, and Number 38 was rejected by four. Some of their rejectors had previously rejected Number 65 in 1949. The last had dropped out of the class by the later date. Similar situations can be noted in comparing the choice of most and least friendly classmates.

The choice of seatmates shows little stability over the three-year period. For example, the mutually-chosen pair, numbers 21 and 26, were the center of a small clique in 1949; by 1952 this relationship had dissolved. Number 21 was now one of the most frequently chosen persons in the class and the center of a group that included none of the persons in her ninth-grade clique. Number 26 in the meantime had become a member of another clique. In only one case was there a noticeable continuity of a clique. In 1949, numbers 10, 11, and 17 were members of a clique that also included numbers 12, 5, and several others. In the twelfth grade, number 10 was the center of a clique that still included numbers 11 and 17. The latter was rejected by one member of the clique, but was the choice of number 10. This indicates some instability in this group at the later date. Number 5, who had chosen a member of number 10's clique in 1949, chose number 21, the leader of another clique in 1952.

One must conclude that there is decidedly more evidence of change than stability in the clique structure. Since the teaching staff made no conscious effort to change this structure, the observation suggests that such changes may occur without any adult manipulation. This raises a serious question about the effectiveness of teachers' efforts to restructure the cliques in a school group. The changes which they presumably effect may be the result of forces within the student group.

Social factors associated with clique structure.   Several persons have sought to analyze the relationship between friendship groups and various other factors.   Perhaps the most important is age. This, of course, is in harmony with our analysis of the age-grade structure in the school.   Cliques seldom include students more than one or two years apart in age-grade status.   Generally they are members of the same grade except in very small schools where numbers prohibit formation of intragrade cliques.   There is extensive evidence to indicate that most cliques are of the same sex.[17] There is some variation in the extent to which friendship groups are limited to one's own sex, although generally some sex cleavage is to be found in all age groups.

There is little evidence that friendship of the mutual sort, frequently the basis for clique formation, is related to academic achievement or intelligence.   Bonney studied the mutual friendship choices of students from the second through the tenth grade and found no significant relationship with academic achievement or intelligence.[18]   A common observation is that persons with similar interests get along well together and associate with each other. Bonney, however, found no consistently significant correlation between the interests and friendship choices in the elementary grades. At the high-school and college level, he found a few significant correlations between specific interests and mutual friends.   At the high-school level, clerical interests, as indicated by the Kuder Preference Record, and artistic interests were correlated significantly with friendship choices.   At the college level there was no correlation between either of these interests and friendship, but there was a significantly high correlation between interests in science and social service and mutual friendships.[19]   Smucker found that common interests in a given type of recreation and in maintaining academic records were associated with clique relations at the college level.[20]   These studies indicate that some broad categories of inter-

[17] See L. Allen Cook, "An Experimental Sociographic Study of a Stratified 10th-Grade Class," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 10, 1945, pp. 250–261; also *Helping Teachers Understand Children, op. cit.,* especially the sociograms, pp. 297 and 316.

[18] M. E. Bonney, "A Sociometric Study of the Relationship of Some Factors to Mutual Friendship on the Elementary, Secondary, and College Level," *Sociometry,* Vol. 9, 1946, pp. 26–34.

[19] *Ibid.,* pp. 34–37.

[20] Orden Smucker, "Campus Clique as an Agency of Socialization," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* Vol. 21, 1947, pp. 163–168.

est may be a basis for clique structure in the adolescent years. It is possible that similar relationships exist with special interests of children; but, if so, they have not been identified.

Relation of community structure to school groups.   Community and school analyses reveal that school cliques, as well as more formally organized school groups, are related to the structure of the community. The relationship between social class and curriculum, clique membership, and other in-school groups shows this clearly. We have noted this in an earlier chapter and mention it here only to emphasize the point. Hollingshead's study of Elmtown, and other similar studies, in which the clique structure is determined by socio-metric choices, demonstrate the stratification among the student cliques. As these studies indicate, students are more likely to choose as friends the students in their own social class or students of a higher social status. Lower-class students tend to be chosen less frequently.[21] Stendler found a considerable tendency for children to choose their out-of-school friends within their own social class, but younger children choose school associates across class lines. There was a trend toward intraclass choices of school associates in the fourth grade and above. Stendler did not find, as others have, that elementary-school children tended to choose above their own status.[22] There is some evidence that girls, particularly at the secondary-school level, are more sensitive to social class differences in the choice of friendships than are boys.[23]

There is evidence that the social clique structure in some schools is related to the ecological structure of the community. Students who walk back and forth to school or ride the same school bus have many opportunities for the development of friendly interpersonal relations. This is not independent of the previous factor of social class or status, for place of residence is known to be highly associated with social class in most communities. A cleavage between open

[21] Cook, *op. cit.,* p. 260; and Bernice Neugarten, "Study of Children's Friendships," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 51, 1946, pp. 306–312.

[22] Celia Burns Stendler, *Children of Brasstown,* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949, pp. 41–51.

[23] Douglass Brown, *Some Factors Affecting Social Acceptance of High School Pupils,* Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University Library, Bloomington, Indiana, 1952, Chapter V; also Leah Houser, unpublished manuscript based on data of Michigan State College Social Research Service.

country or rural students and city or town students may occur in schools which both attend.   This is more likely when students from both areas are first brought together at junior high-school or high-school level.   This cleavage breaks down to some extent as students associate for longer periods of time.[24]   Loomis and Becker found that such cleavages in one community were reduced by a program designed to bring farmers and townspeople into more intimate interpersonal relations.[25]   The division existing between rural and town students may be due in part to the differences in occupations of the farm and nonfarm families.

Cleavages due to occupations are not easily distinguished from differences due to the broader social class or status factors.   When the status and class lines are not clearly defined, the clique structures in the school may cut across occupational differences quite freely.   In a suburban fringe area, Sower found no significant relationship between the fathers' occupations and the clique structure.[26] It is, therefore, not clearly established that the parents' occupations or other interests affect the structure of informal friendship groups when differences in social class are not operating.

It is impossible to describe all of the informal cliques at this point, because of their numbers, and because they have not yet been adequately catalogued.   We will, however, examine two types of groups with widely varying statuses in the student social structure. The elite and the "nobody" groups are commonly found in schools throughout the nation.[27]

Elite groups.   In every school which the author has observed there exists some type of elite group given special attention by teachers and other students.   Hollingshead found a girls' clique known as the "God We're Good Girls."   In another school, the palace guard of elite girls was known as the "Big Four."   In each of these cases there is the phenomenon of a small group of students who are, in some respects, teachers' pets.   They receive special con-

[24] Houser, *op. cit.*
[25] C. P. Loomis, *Studies in Applied and Theoretical Social Science,* East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State College Press, 1950, pp. 76–83.
[26] Christopher Sower, "Social Stratification in Suburban Communities," *Sociometry,* Vol. 9, 1948, pp. 235–243.
[27] See Douglass Brown, *op. cit.,* for analyses of the groups associated with high-social status in one high school.

sideration in the enforcement of school regulations, and are frequently selected to answer the telephone or to serve in other roles identified with the school staff.

When the author recently called at the principal's office in a rural school, he found three high-school girls in the room. They were chatting, working a crossword puzzle, and otherwise occupied with trivial activities. The principal arrived within a few minutes. Just as he entered the office, he turned to a fourth student who had come into the office to join the group of three. In a rather gruff and inconsiderate manner, the principal asked this girl what she was doing there and then ordered her to leave. After the fourth girl's departure, he spoke in a joking and jovial manner to the other three girls, making no comment concerning their presence in the office. It became obvious as the interview progressed that these three girls had no more significant function in the office than the fourth. The three remained throughout the interview, however, and on occasion, participated in the discussion. A little investigation revealed that this was a common practice. The three girls were never expected to report to the study hall and had greater freedom of movement and school participation than other students.

Such elite or office cliques are generally in the older age-grades. The principal or another high-status teacher selects them for certain semiofficial roles and associates with them on a friendlier and more congenial basis than with other students. Close association with the faculty gives such cliques access to much information not available to other students. Through this communication they are frequently able to exert considerable power over other students. They may also be in a position to demand and to receive special consideration from other teachers who cannot question the privileges the principal or higher-status teachers give this group.

Although no systematic study is available, it is probable that the elite office clique is usually composed of middle-class students with proper manners and sufficient skill in human relations that they seldom abuse the special privileges. They are frequently superior students, members of elite clubs, honor societies, and sometimes the editors or managers of school publications. It is often through their duties in connection with some organization, club or school functions that they achieve the office-clique status.

"Nobody" cliques.   On the other end of the continuum of informal school groups, there is generally a group of students who are set off from others for opposite reasons.   They are the outcasts or blacklisted individuals.   These students may be a "gang" or clique that frequently associates together, or they may be relatively isolated individuals.   Hollingshead identified this group in Elmtown as "grubbies." [28]

TABLE XVIII.   **Reasons given by 1,170 sophomore, junior, and senior pupils of X High School for rejection of fellow-pupils (of same sex), arranged by percentage of total number of reasons given.**[29]

Reasons for rejection	Girls	Boys	Total
Engages in conduct I consider wrong	18.4	14.7	16.7
Is "two-faced" or insincere	13.3	11.1	12.3
Has low ideals	11.7	11.3	11.4
Uses profane or obscene language	11.0	12.2	11.4
Is stuck-up or snobbish	10.6	11.5	11.0
Gossips	13.0	7.1	10.8
Talks too much	9.2	12.8	10.8
Never thinks of other people's preferences	7.9	14.5	10.6
Is untidy in appearance	4.2	4.2	4.3
Comes from a lower-class family	.7	.6	.7

Such outcast students or cliques generally make poor grades and are otherwise unfavorably judged by teachers.   In addition to being inferior students, they may be considered immoral, dirty, "foul-mouthed," and generally condemned by the high-status students.   In other words, these are students whose behavior is unacceptable by the standards of the elite or near-elite groups.   The reasons given for rejecting fellow students in one school (Table XVIII) indicate the image which others have of the "outcasts."

There is usually a close association between membership in these outcast cliques and the social position of the student's family. The children of upper- and middle-class families are usually members of separate cliques.   Membership in a minority ethnic, religious, or racial group may be a factor in determining the student's identification as a "nobody."   When there are large numbers

[28] Hollingshead, *op. cit.,* p. 221.
[29] Adapted from Douglass Brown, *op. cit.,* p. 184.   Reprinted by permission.

of such minorities in the school, cliques with varying levels of status may be found among them.   Furthermore, members of very small minorities are sometimes able to achieve a membership in higher-status cliques.   However, in many schools such students are almost always assigned to inferior status.

Brown found that the students who were most frequently re-jected by their schoolmates were seldom members of other school organizations.[30]   This was more evident among girls than boys, but in neither case were there any organizations that "catered" to the rejected.   This simply suggests that there are students who are not included in either the formal or the higher-status informal groups. In the absence of other associates, these outcasts sometimes turn to one another for some friendship.

Formally organized student groups.   We have examined both the prescribed grade and curriculum structure and the informal clique relationships in the student society.   In addition to these, the school sponsors many clubs and out-of-classroom activity groups.   Gordon found fifty such organizations in the one high school which he analyzed.[31]   Among these were the athletic teams, music groups, student government, school publication staff, Future Farmers, and numerous other groups associated with school activi-ties.   Many other clubs develop around special interests and hob-bies.   These groups have varying levels of prestige.   Waller de-scribed the importance of participation in such groups as follows:

> There is distinction in these activities for individuals.   That distinction rests in part upon the prominence which participation in them gives the individual in the eyes of the school at large, and in part upon the recognition which the adult group accords them. The variety of activities is almost endless, for each of the activities mentioned above has many subdivisions; these subdivisions are sometimes arranged in something of a hierarchy as in athletics, where the greatest distinction attaches to football, a little less to basketball, less yet to baseball and track. . . .
>
> It is noteworthy that a competitive spirit prevails in nearly all activities.   Not all activities are really competitive, but the struggle for places may make them so, and the desirability of having some place in some school activity makes the competition keen.   One

30 Brown, *op. cit.,* p. 187.
31 Wayne Gordon, *op. cit.,* p. 62.

"makes" the school orchestra or glee club quite as truly as one makes the football team.[32]

Participation in such groups or activities is sought by those students who strive for recognition and higher status in the school society.   The degree of recognition depends on the number of organizations to which he belongs and the rating of the organization, as well as the positions which the student holds in each.   The ten highest and the ten lowest rated clubs in Ferguson High School are indicated below.[33]

Highest	*Lowest*
Student assembly	Intramural basketball
Cheer leaders	Literary club
Varsity basketball	D. O. Club
Honor society	Intramural tennis
Varsity football	Roller Skating Club
Crest Coronation	Riding Club
Senior play	Pencil Pushers
Junior Prom Committee	Knitting Club
Crest staff	Chess Club
Mixed chorus	Outdoor Club

Of course such groups would have different ratings in other schools.

The activity around which the group is organized is usually implied in the name.   In some cases their only apparent function is also implied, but they often have several latent functions besides the prestige-rating one.   Gordon analyzes these functions of a group with low prestige rating.

The Roller Skating Club consists of "a group of enthusiastic students interested in skating," we note from its "blurb" in the school yearbook.   Undoubtedly, skating represents its major function.

Further enquiry into the nature of the groups suggests that other latent functions of the organization may be equally significant.   Apparently the group provides a framework for the early adolescent girl to advance her interests and opportunities for contact with members of the opposite sex: (1) by providing a co-educational group; (2) by legitimating evenings away from home;

[32] Willard Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching,* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1932, p. 112.   Reprinted by permission.
[33] Wayne Gordon, *op. cit.,* Appendix A.

(3) by providing opposite sex contacts at the neighboring community skating rink which parents would not otherwise condone; (4) by providing quasi-parental supervision in the form of school sponsorship acceptable to both parent and adolescent, thus assisting in the transition from parental authority to independent status. Essentially the Club's slogan might better be "girls who date needn't skate." [34]

Those students who hold office and participate in several high-ranking groups such as major athletics, student government, and school publication staffs may be identified as "wheels" or a similar symbol of high status. At the other extreme are the nonparticipants who make up the "nobody cliques" described on page 223. The student's position in the school society is defined in a large measure by his participation in these more formal groups. His friendship or clique relations, as well as his age-grade position in the school, are generally correlated with his participation in such groups.

Athletic teams.   In most secondary schools the football, basketball, baseball, and other athletic teams occupy highly rated positions. Occasionally the band or orchestra occupies a similar position, but generally it receives less student attention and acclaim than the athletic team. It seems appropriate, therefore, to make a brief analysis of the internal social structure of the athletic team and its relationship to other segments of the school society.

Practically every American has some impression of the social structure of athletic teams. The concept which the casual newspaper reader, or the rabid fan has of the relationships existing within the squad may be quite different from the pattern with which the player or coach is acquainted.

The first factor in the structure of the group is that the coach or coaches are superordinate to the players. This dominance may be of a variety of types. It may be of the dictator type in which there is little or no rapport between the coach and the players. Or it may be of the "leader" type in which the coach is the accepted and desired leader of the group.[35] Of course all degrees of variation between these two types of dominance may be found in athletic

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[34] Wayne Gordon, *op. cit.,* pp. 64–65.
[35] See Kimball Young, *Social Psychology,* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1944, pp. 194 ff., for a discussion of leadership and dominance which has bearing on the distinction made here.

coaches.   Occasionally one may find a case in which the coach is not the dominant individual.   These cases are so few and of such short duration that it is not worthwhile to investigate them to any extent.   The failure of such teams usually causes them to be broken up quickly.

Among the players there are two or more levels.   There always is a difference in status between those who usually play and those who do not; the latter are included in the squad for use as substitutes and for competition in practice.   This may become the basis for a distinction in terms.   The term *squad* may be applied to the entire group of players, while *team* is applied to that group which participates in the games with other schools.   There may be several teams with varying degrees of status in the larger squads.   This is seen in the football squads of our American colleges.   Thus the role or status of the individual is determined by whether he is on A, B, C, or X team.

There are also variations resulting from the position played and the personalities of the players.   In the football team the quarterback or other player who calls the plays has a role quite different from any other team member.   He is dominant over all others during the game, and second only to the coach in status.   Here a leader who has the support of other members of the team is essential for success.   In other sports there are key men who have roles similar to that of the quarterback in football.   In baseball it is usually the catcher.   In basketball it may be any one of the players, but ordinarily there is a key man of some sort, although he may not be recognized as such by anyone other than the players and the coach.

Other differences in role result from team position, although the relative ranking of each may be the same.   This is noted especially in the difference between the line and backfield in football; the goalie and wing in hockey; the pitcher, catcher, infielder, and outfielder in baseball; and similar distinctions in other sports.   It is necessary in any successful athletic team for each player not only to know his own role well, but also to be able to take the role of another.   It is only by this process that the interaction among the various players will culminate in the successful execution of plays.   The nature of the clique structure and the relationship among cliques may be another factor affecting team roles.   The off-team friendship groups may determine to some degree the relations among

squad members. The "best" team may not always be composed of the most skillful players.

Team success is important because it is only through the winning of games that the members may satisfy the desire which caused them to join the group. Those players who cannot meet the standards of the team and thereby contribute to its success are either benched or dropped from the squad entirely, while those who contribute to its success because of a high level of performance become the core of the group. This process immediately distinguishes those who are "in" from those who are "out" of the group. It also has a strong centripetal or in-group effect on those who make the "grade."

The position of the athletic team in the total school society varies somewhat from one school to another and one sport to another, but teams in major sports are seldom ignored. The athletic awards and other forms of recognition tend to set the team members apart. Frequently they have a high status similar to that of the office clique or the more select clubs in the school.

Questions for Discussion

1. By what means does the administrator exercise power over the teachers?
2. By what means can teachers exert pressure on administrators?
3. Discuss the authority of the school board in relation to the teacher. How may informal relationships modify this?
4. When a sociometric diagram shows a group with one person consistently rejected by the others, would you include that person in the group?
5. How may the teacher assist in preventing school dropouts for social reasons?
6. How does social prestige accrue to athletes?

Suggestions for Further Reading

Cook, Lloyd A. and Elaine, *A Sociological Approach to Education,* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950, Chapter 14.

Gordon, Wayne, *The Social System of a High School,* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press. (In press.)

Hollingshead, August, *Elmtown's Youth,* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949.

Waller, Willard, *Sociology of Teaching,* New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1932, Chapters 2, 7, 13, 14, and 17–20.

The School and Personality

9. Teacher Roles in the School and Community

THE PRECEDING EXAMINATION OF THE VARIOUS positions in the school's adult society provides the setting for a further analysis of the relationship between the teacher's position and his behavior. The position involves expectations held by those who associate with the person who occupies it; the occupant is influenced accordingly. The expectancies of a particular social situation, as interpreted by the actors in the situation, we term a *role*. If the person consistently adopts a particular set of roles, in a variety of situations, his behavior may become stabilized, so that others expect him to behave in these ways. The personality, once fixed, affects in turn the expectancies in each new social situation.

In accord with this theoretical framework, we analyze the role expectations associated with teaching positions in American schools and communities.. In the following chapter we examine the hypothesis that teachers have developed an occupational personality type through taking these roles.

The analysis of the roles of the teacher is in terms of types. These sometimes are illustrated by actual cases which approach the type, and sometimes are constructed from participant experiences, reported cases, and statistical studies of such roles. The types of roles described will rarely, if ever, be found exactly as they are here. However, the abstractions are constructed from a variety of empirical cases. Thus, if not always specifically observable in the behavior of the teacher and those with whom he interacts, the patterns are objective possibilities. They are, therefore, not ster-

eotypes and have definite validity in the analysis of the roles the teacher is expected to assume. Empirical observations of the teacher, in relations with colleagues, pupils, and others in the community, demonstrate that he is expected to behave in ways similar to the types presented, although, perhaps in no case does the behavior exactly fit the type.[1]

TEACHER ROLES IN RELATION TO PUPILS

There have been various expositions of the roles assumed in the classroom and in other areas of teacher-pupil relationships.[2] Wide variations no doubt exist in the types of behavior expected of teachers as they interact with pupils. Some differences are related to the ages of students and others to the social situation in which the interaction occurs. Even though a wide range of interaction is expected, some general characteristics of such teacher roles may be recognized.

Teachers are expected to maintain dominance. Waller's analysis of the teacher's roles assumes that the basic fact in teacher-pupil relations is the necessity for the teacher to maintain a dominant role and a distance between himself and the pupils. This is necessary in order to overcome the "will not to learn" and to maintain control of the classroom situation. Although there is some foundation for this assumption, it is an oversimplification of the teacher's role. In his discussion of the "good" teacher,[3] Waller recognized some variation in this basic relationship. But, he maintained that there was somewhere in the child's "psyche a will to resist the frustrating regimen of the school, something which we may . . . call a 'will not to

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[1] See John C. McKinney, "The Role of Constructive Typology in Scientific Sociological Analysis," *Social Forces,* Vol. 28, 1950, pp. 235–240; Howard Becker, "Constructive Typology in Social Science," in Howard Becker, Francis Becker, and H. E. Barnes, *Contemporary Social Theory,* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1940, pp. 17–46; and "Interpretative Sociology and Constructive Typology," in George Gurvitch and Wilbert Moore, *Twentieth-Century Sociology,* New York: Philosophical Library, 1945, pp. 70–95, for a discussion of the methodology of constructed type. Although the typical roles discussed in this chapter do not exactly fit the method outlined, they are similar and serve to interpret the social process in which teachers participate.

[2] See Kimball Young, *Personality and Problems of Adjustment,* 2nd ed., New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1952, Chap. 15; Willard Waller, "The Teacher Roles," in Joseph Roucek and associates, *Sociological Foundations of Education,* New York: Thomas Crowell Co., 1942, Chap. 10, pp. 203–222; and Willard Waller, *Sociology of Teaching,* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., pp. 48–80, 189–291. In these works will be found varying concepts of the teachers' roles.

[3] In Roucek, *op. cit.,* pp. 212 ff.

learn.' "   This mystical explanation of the conflict between the teacher and the pupil is not appropriate in a scientific analysis of human relations.

The first basis for the development of a dominant role is that the children learn to expect the teacher to take a position of dominance and dictation.   During the first school years, the teacher functions in many ways as a mother surrogate.[4]   To the extent that this is true and that the parent dominates the parent-child relationship, the child may expect the teacher to do likewise.   Certainly the teacher functions as the parent does in helping to dress, in directing play, and in serving as disciplinarian during the early school experiences of the child.   As the teacher functions in the same capacity as the parent, the child expects her to behave in a dominant way similar to that of the parent.

A second source of the child's expectations, which anticipate the teacher's dominant role, is to be found in folk tales, cartoons, literature, art, and other carriers of culture.   Every family, neighborhood, or community has a stock of teacher stories which are handed down from generation to generation.   The tales that persist are seemingly those involving the teachers who made the pupil walk the chalk line by use of corporal punishment or similar methods.   Teachers who do not fit this pattern are depicted as weak, ineffective, and unworthy of their position.

Involved in these stereotyped concepts is the idea that any teacher who does not dominate is a weakling and the object of ridicule.   Thus, if the teacher does not assume a dominant role and maintain considerable social distance between himself and the pupil, he is likely to lose effectiveness as a teacher.[5]   Since the children expect the teacher to dominate and to dictate to them, the new teacher finds little resistance to his assumption of such a role, which he also has been taught is expected of him.   In fact, there is likely to be decidedly less frustration among the children if the teacher does assume such a role.

Another basis for the development of teacher roles of dominance is that, in most communities, the adults, including older teachers, expect the teacher to maintain authority over the children.   The

[4] Kimball Young, *op. cit.*, Chap. 18.
[5] See Chap. 11, and W. B. Brookover "Social Roles of Teachers and Pupil Achievements," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 8, 1943, pp. 389–393, for further discussion of this point.

groups who control the schools demand such dominance from the teacher in accord with their own childhood experiences based on a "spare the rod and spoil the child" theory. Such a concept makes it imperative that the teacher maintain good discipline, which is the lay term for teacher dictation. Strong discipline is the first requirement of success in the profession in the eyes of laymen. Failure as a disciplinarian, meaning, as a rule, failure to keep the class submissive, is probably the most frequently expressed reason for the dismissal of a teacher.

This is not a universal pattern, and there are other teacher roles in relation to the students. However, dominance over the student is probably the most significant in determining the total structure of teacher-pupil relationships within the school. The impact of these relationships on the development of the child is analyzed in a later chapter.

Teachers are expected to maintain social distance and respect. Closely related to the role of dominance over the students is the pattern of behavior in which the teacher is expected to maintain a certain social distance between himself and the pupil. Beginning teachers are constantly advised by the more experienced ones to keep their distance in order to avoid having the students take advantage of them. This involves the belief that teachers, particularly those in secondary schools, in order to maintain the respect of their students, must not permit the youth to associate with them on a personal or congenial basis. Teachers readily exercise the power they have as the dominant person in the relationship if they feel the child is becoming too familiar with them. They employ a variety of techniques to facilitate the social distance.

Perhaps the most common device is the insistence that the child, when addressing the teacher, use Mister, Miss, or Mrs. and the surname. This was demonstrated by a rural schoolteacher in her home community; she requested that her sister and cousins, as well as the other students, call her Miss B while in the school situation. Upon finding this particularly difficult for the relatives who had always addressed her by her first name, she relaxed the rule sufficiently to permit them to call her Miss Harriet. Although this young teacher was considered highly acceptable by her neighbors and friends, who were also the school patrons, she felt that she had

to insist on this symbol as evidence of the distance that was expected to separate her from the children. This role is readily accepted by patrons on the basis that it is necessary as a means of retaining the respect of the students.

During my first year as a secondary-school teacher, my immediate supervisor criticized me severely for permitting one of my students, who had known me since he was a small child, to address me by a nickname. This experienced teacher insisted that I would lose the respect of the students and that they would become too familiar with me. This is another example of the fact that the teacher is expected to set himself apart from the pupils and to insist that the students recognize the distance.

Other means for maintaining the role of respect and expected distance are those devices for setting the teacher apart in the school situation. The teacher's desk is usually arranged facing those of the students and at some distance from them. Frequently, it is placed on an elevated platform. In many schools where food is served, arrangements are made for the teachers to eat in a separate dining room or at a special table.

Students sometimes react to these "distance rules" with extreme comments. A United Press report of a student's note on a highway sign illustrates the point. The sign read, "School zone. Don't kill a child." The student had added, "Wait for a teacher."

Evidence of the extent of this expected respect is offered in a study made of sixty-six male history teachers in rural consolidated high schools in Indiana.[6] Sixty-seven per cent of the 1,270 American history pupils of these teachers indicated that they respected them "very much"; 27 per cent answered that they respected them "somewhat"; this left only 6 per cent who had no respect for these particular teachers. The barrier existing between the teacher and the pupil is suggested by the response of this same group of students to the question, "Do you confide in the teacher and tell him your troubles?" Fifty-seven per cent answered "never," and 37 per cent answered "sometimes." Thus, only 6 per cent of the students would acknowledge that they often confided in the teacher.

No claim is made here that every teacher maintains a pattern of behavior in which there is some distance between himself and the

[6] W. B. Brookover, "The Relation of Social Factors to Teaching Ability," *Journal of Experimental Education,* Vol. 13, 1945, pp. 191–205.

children.   Nor is it argued that all students and patrons expect this distance.   It is, however, a very common role expectation in American schools and one into which new teachers are constantly being initiated.

Many teachers find it possible to reduce the distance between themselves and their pupils and still retain their respect.   Waller [7] claimed that good teachers "alternate the authoritarian role and personal roles and lengthen and shorten the rubber band of social distance with consummate skill."   Although this describes the role-taking variations of many teachers, Waller gave no criteria by which he judged them good teachers.   According to evidence presented in Chapter 11, the authoritarian teacher is likely to impart more information to the student.

In the study reported above,[8] it was found that 43 per cent of the 1,270 youth responding said that their teachers often joined in their recreation, while another 43 per cent said that they sometimes did so.   Thus, all but 14 per cent of the students found the teachers reduced the social barrier sufficiently to participate with the youth in their social and recreational activities.   Furthermore, 51 per cent of the students stated that they liked very much to have their teachers participate in their social and recreational activities. Thirty-six per cent admitted that they liked such participation somewhat.

Participation by the teacher may be the result of a theory common among educators that the teacher should understand his students and meet them on a friendly, congenial basis.   Although this is, in many respects, a contradiction of the authoritarian-social distance role the teacher is expected to maintain, many teachers give the impression that they are friendly.   The male rural high-school teachers mentioned above were considered always or sometimes friendly by all but a negligible portion of their pupils.   Sixty-one per cent considered them always friendly.

Although there is only inadequate evidence from which to delineate clearly the various roles the teacher assumes in relation to the student, there are two general types of behavior patterns.   The first is the role of the authoritarian, in which the teacher maintains

[7] Willard Waller, "The Teacher Roles," in Roucek, *Sociological Foundations of Education, op. cit.*, p. 212.
[8] W. B. Brookover, "The Relation of Social Factors to Teaching Ability," *op. cit.*, 1943, pp. 95 ff.

a dominant position, and a certain degree of respect, by setting himself apart and by manipulating the degree of person-to-person contact the students are permitted to have with him. In this situation the teacher extends or contracts the social distance between himself and the students. In the second behavior pattern, the teacher is friendly and sympathetic toward the pupils. There must, however, be sufficient interaction to enable him to understand the attitudes and problems of each of his charges. Failure to demonstrate facility in either of these roles may be the basis for the disqualification of the teacher by the pupils, patrons, or supervisors.

TEACHER ROLES IN THE COMMUNITY [9]

Many teachers have described the roles they are expected to play in the communities in which they teach. These are individual case histories, but they fall into such categories that we have some confidence in an analysis of the typical teacher roles in American communities. These roles vary from one community to another. There has also been extensive change in the past decade. To describe the roles in all these varied situations is impossible, but there is a core of expectations common to all communities which provides material for the classification of certain types of role characteristics. Significant variations from these types will be indicated where they are known. The reader will, no doubt, add other variations, but the characteristics of teacher roles we describe should help to understand the behavior of the teachers as well as that of others interacting with the teachers.

Teachers are expected to live in the community but remain strangers. Teachers, like ministers, change positions frequently. Consequently, they come into the community as strangers. This is not true of teachers employed in their home community, but most teachers are more or less detached from the community value system, sentiments, and traditions. In many cases the teachers are expected to live in the community. During the 1930's this was an almost national requirement, but in the last decade the shortage of teachers and the lack of available housing reduced the pressure for local residence. However, it is still generally assumed and expected that, if possible, teachers live in the community in which they work.

[9] Orden Smucker collaborated with the author on this section.

This is justified on several bases. Most common is the belief that the teacher does superior work if he is well acquainted with the community. Another is the benefit to local business when the teachers' salaries are spent at home. This requirement is particularly common in small towns and villages. It is seldom an issue in larger cities, for nearly all teachers live in the city or nearby. One Midwestern city of 30,000, however, writes into the contract a requirement that teachers must live within the city limits.

Greenhoe found that school board members gave nonlocal residents an employability quotient of only 48.3,[10] and a quotient of 15.4 for out-of-state male applicants. She also noted that living outside the community was disapproved of by nearly two-thirds of the school board members and was also frowned upon by most of the students as well as by the teachers themselves.[11]

In the study of sixty-six men noted above, it was found that living in the community was the accepted practice in 1940. Sixteen of the teachers, or 24 per cent, commuted daily. Several of these could not find residences in the community and were living in the nearest population center where housing was available. Another 24 per cent of the group had lived in the community prior to becoming teachers. This fact was, no doubt, an important reason for their being employed. Five other teachers indicated that the employing official informed them they must move to the community as a condition of employment. The majority of the remainder assumed they were expected to live in the community, although it had not been made an explicit condition of their employment. This should not be interpreted to mean that the teachers were reluctant to move to the community. In most cases, they had so completely internalized the expected behavior that it was their own preference as well as that of the community. They also expected to spend most of their money in the community.

The curious thing about the teachers' expected presence in the community is that their participation in community activities is very narrowly prescribed. The teacher is expected to be in the community, but not a full member of it. The activities in which the

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[10] See Florence Greenhoe, *Community Contacts and Participation of Teachers,* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941, p. 32. The employability quotient was obtained by subtracting the percentage of negative votes from the percentage of positive votes in each case.

[11] *Ibid.,* p. 51.

teacher may openly and approvedly engage are frequently limited to school functions, church affairs, and the work of certain other acceptable organizations.   He is not expected to function in political life or to associate freely with the other citizens in such social affairs as dancing, visiting, or attending clubs.   The pattern is described by a Minnesota rural teacher in a letter to the editor of a farm paper:

Dear Editor:

I am a farm girl and teacher.   From preference I have taught in country schools, in Midwest and Western states.   I have always found country children truly appreciative of schools, and of their teacher's efforts; so I have often wondered why country adults are so different.

Regardless of how informal and sociable the rural neighborhood, the teacher is always set apart.   In our modern life, there couldn't possibly be any reason to stand in awe of her, but still she is treated with distant courtesy, and seldom given a chance to be neighborly — even if she's just a farm girl and wants to be treated as belonging.

Especially, if a teacher goes to dances, and perchance even dares to have a boy friend, she is immediately rated as a poor teacher.   No one visits school to judge her work, but it is simply taken for granted that a teacher cannot be human.   But if she lives only for her work and never ventures elsewhere than to church, then she is a perfectly fine teacher and is even offered a chance for a second year of loneliness and isolation.

From personal experience, the above are my reasons for feeling sorry for the country teacher — not just because of low salaries.

A Rural Teacher, Minnesota.[12]

The reaction of this Minnesota teacher is one of many which could be cited.   These conditions may be found more in rural communities than in larger centers of population, but similar comments and reports have been made by teachers in many towns and cities as well.

Teachers are barred from some community activities.   The manner in which the teacher is excluded from full identification with the community may vary.   As a rule, he is barred from many roles in which other members of the community find their most complete participation and sense of belonging to the group. In most localities,

[12] *Farm Journal,* Jan. 1947, Vol. 71, pp. 66–67. Reprinted by permission.

a teacher's activity in the local political party or similar organization would certainly be interpreted as a cause for dismissal. Illustrative of this is the fact that although 76 per cent of the rural teachers in Greenhoe's study lived in the community, only 43 per cent took part in other than church affairs. Fifty per cent of the teachers knew less than half of the relatively small number of patrons in the community. Only 46 per cent associated with persons other than teachers.

Greenhoe also found that only 12 per cent of the 2,870 teachers in her sample participated in political activities, but 83.6 per cent took part in religious activities.[13] Seventy-five per cent of these same teachers participated in such groups as Parent-Teachers Associations, child study clubs, and other professional activities, but only 3.5 per cent were in any groups concerned with economic interests. These data indicate the activities in which teachers are expected to participate and those from which they are generally excluded.

Many women teachers would enjoy the intimate association of bridge, sewing, study, church ladies' aid, and similar groups which form the basis of community identification for women; yet they are rarely invited into such groups. When they are included, a special role sets them apart from the others. The meetings of such groups are often the stage for a discussion of the teacher's personality, a critical reaction toward her social activities, and an evaluation of her ability.

The barriers are probably not so rigid for men who enter the community as teachers, but male teachers are rarely included in the card games, lodge groups, or hunting and fishing trips of nonteachers. If they are invited, it is usually with the thought that they ought to be included. Others fear the teacher will not fit in and will destroy the easy camaraderie of the group.

As this barrier exists between the community and the teacher, it is not surprising that the feeling develops that the teacher is not a human being and cannot be one. This pattern is indicated by the Minnesota teacher just cited and is typical of the difference that is believed to exist between the teacher and others.[14] The nature of this difference is not always the same. At times, the distance be-

[13] Greenhoe, *op. cit.,* p. 65.
[14] See the following chapter for further discussion.

tween the teacher and others may be interpreted as a mark of respect, characterized by the feeling that the teacher is somewhat superior to the average citizen. At other times, the difference may result in an identification of teachers as incompetents and dupes. They teach "because they are unable to do anything else." A correspondent reporting from a nation-wide tour wrote that, "Almost all . . . teaching is an unwanted profession. Whereas a generation ago it was considered a mark of high respectability and some prestige to be assigned as a teacher, today the teacher's post is scorned." [15]

This trend is, no doubt, a factor in the postwar shortage of teachers. New teachers are difficult to recruit and old teachers are leaving the profession because they are set apart and looked upon with disfavor, as well as because they are poorly paid. The statement of an experienced teacher who left the profession is indicative of the role they play in the community.

Teachers are afraid of what staying in the system long enough will do to them. They wonder if they are really fair to themselves by staying in school. You don't get excited about your job any more. People talk about schools being arsenals of democracy, but that is just talk. More persons will go into teaching if they feel that it is a real profession and that they are to be treated with respect. [16]

In a similar vein, the principal of a Minneapolis school said:

The teacher is not recognized as an asset in the community. She is seldom appointed to any of the civic or municipal committees. Teachers do not have the respect accorded the minister or the freedom granted to carpenters. [17]

A teacher from Nebraska said:

The only time I am asked to visit the home of any parent is when little Johnny is in trouble. [18]

[15] Benjamin Fine, "Teacher Shortage Imperils Our Public Schools," *New York Times,* Feb. 10, 1947, p. 20. Reprinted in *The Crisis in American Education,* New York: *New York Times,* 1947, p. 10. Excerpts from these articles are printed by permission.
[16] *Ibid.* Quoted as the statement of a former teacher in a Nashville, Tennessee, junior high school.
[17] Benjamin Fine, "Teacher Career Entails Handicaps," *New York Times,* Feb. 13, 1947, p. 27; *The Crisis in American Education, op. cit.,* p. 23.
[18] *Ibid.*

These statements support the contention that the teaching profession is no longer respected and that the teacher is seldom, if ever, accepted as a citizen of importance in community activities. Greenhoe found that teachers were rarely officers or sponsors of any community activities except those of religious groups. Of the 2,870 teachers reported in her study, only 4 per cent indicated such positions in civic groups; less than 1 per cent were in economic interest groups; about 4 per cent in fraternal orders; 7 per cent in groups involved in leisure pursuits; and less than 1 per cent in patriotic societies and political groups.[19]

These data reflect the general pattern in which the teacher is excluded from the common social groups and their activities. It does not mean that he is not accorded a measure of respect at a distance. The average citizen may respect the teacher but has little contact with him outside the school. He never sees the teacher in other activities, exhibiting abilities other than those associated with teaching. The teacher is known simply as a teacher and is rarely permitted to assume another role. It follows that there is no basis upon which to establish another status in the community. The teacher's position is usually unranked in comparison with others in the community.

Teachers are expected to accept their roles in nonresistant fashion. The country has periodically been disturbed about the shortage of teachers. Commentators have taken up the cudgels in the campaign to get higher salaries for teachers. Yet, the editor of a daily newspaper in Detroit condemned the teachers in that city for considering a strike when the board of education refused their request for higher salaries.[20] At a later date, the same paper headed its editorial on the teachers' strike in Buffalo, "Irresponsibility." After stating, "The local communities which employ them have definitely failed in their duty to this profession," the editorial continued to condemn the teachers for taking such aggressive action because, "Teachers have a moral obligation to set an example for other public employees." [21]

These editorials express the belief that teachers must dedicate their lives to the service of the community. They must take, with-

[19] Greenhoe, *op. cit.,* pp. 64–65.
[20] *Detroit Free Press,* Feb. 3, 1947, editorial, p. 4.
[21] *Ibid.,* Feb. 26, 1947, p. 6.

out complaint, whatever rewards the representatives of the community see fit to give. The rewards in status and prestige are slight. The monetary compensation is probably even less acceptable when compared to that of other groups with similar training and responsibility.

A survey conducted by the *New York Times* [22] showed that 50 per cent of the teachers received the same salary as, or a lower salary than, an unskilled worker. In 53 per cent of the cities the teacher was reported to receive less than a truck driver, and in 74 per cent less than a carpenter. The average salary of the teacher has almost always been lower than that of the salaried lawyer or physician. The more competent individuals either are not attracted to the occupation at all, or leave shortly after they enter for positions offering greater prestige and higher pay. When unskilled labor, the charwoman and janitor in the school, for example, receives higher pay than the teacher, the community cannot be presumed to respect the brainpower it purchases to teach its children.

In spite of the incongruity of the situation and the general recognition of the damage that may result, the public tends to resent any attempt by the teachers to modify this traditional role of accepting whatever is provided for them. Unionization is condemned, and strikes by teachers are almost universally deplored. The average teacher has so completely accepted the roles expected by the community in this regard that he has an antipathy toward unions. He will refuse to strike in most cases, doing so only after extreme provocation. In view of this, the only recourse for the teacher who cannot accept an outcast role, low status, and substandard salary is to leave the profession.

Teachers are expected to live by a special code of behavior. Most teachers have felt that the community judges them by standards different from those applied to other persons in the community. In a very real sense the community owns the teacher and prescribes for him or her a behavior code enforced with varying degrees of severity. In general the code is more restrictive for women, and probably more restrictive in rural communities than in the cities.

[22] Benjamin Fine, "Teacher Shortage Imperils School System," *New York Times,* Feb. 10, 1947, p. 20. Reprinted in *The Crisis in American Education,* New York: *New York Times,* 1947, pp. 13–16. Data are taken from reports of state educational leaders.

Supply and demand factors, too, bear a relationship to the types of community codes imposed on the teachers. The last decade has seen a relaxation of the special teacher codes. It should not, however, be concluded that there is no difference in the codes applied to teachers and others.

Beale reported that in 1929 a Kansas school board of education dismissed eleven high-school teachers because they attended a dance at a local country club.[23] In the past, marriage, or the possibility of marriage, was frequently the basis upon which a prospective woman teacher was denied a position. During the 1930's, it was a general practice to dismiss a woman teacher when she married unless tenure laws prevented such action. In one school system where the teacher obtained tenure after five years, it was the practice for the superintendent to interview the women teachers before they were granted the sixth contract and to inquire if they had any prospects of marriage. If any admitted such happy prospects, she was not re-employed. Marriage has also been used as a basis for denying a new contract, even though the teacher had legal tenure in the position. A study by the National Educational Association in 1931 showed that approximately 77 per cent of the cities employed no married women as new teachers. In 62 per cent of the cities, the women teachers who married were required to resign.[24]

The restrictions on marriage continued into the 1940's, but the situation had changed drastically by 1950. In 1950–1951, approximately two-thirds of all women teachers in Michigan were married. This is approximately double the proportion married twenty years earlier.[25] There is no basis for predicting future codes concerning the marriage of women teachers, but at present marriage is not a handicap in obtaining a position.

The Minnesota teacher, whose letter was quoted earlier, reflects the special moral code along with her sense of separation from the community. She suggests that if the teacher goes to dances, or dares to have a boy friend, she is rated as a poor teacher. But, if she lives for her work alone and goes only to church, she is rated a fine

[23] Howard Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936.

[24] National Education Association, *Administrative Practices Affecting Classroom Teachers,* Research Bulletin, Vol. 10, 1932, p. 19.

[25] Bruce Nelson, *A Study of Selected Factors Related to the Demand for and Supply of Teachers in Michigan, 1941–1960,* Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor, 1953.

teacher. This belief that ability as a teacher is judged in terms of the degree to which the teacher accepts the code formulated by the community is well established. A positive correlation of .70 was found between the teacher's attendance at church and the hiring official's rating of the teacher's ability.[26]

In the survey reported earlier, Fine [27] found that "one of the most common complaints by teachers is that their lives are circumscribed by the community. This is particularly true in rural areas, although city systems are guilty too. Teachers are told which church to attend, how to spend their evenings, what clothes to wear." Some of the cases reported by Fine in 1947 support the generalization of earlier studies.

A teacher in New England complained:

I can't lead a natural life. I wouldn't dare smoke or drink. When I go to public meetings where the parents and the guests smoke, I have to say no. If the parents can smoke, why can't I? The principal threatened to fire anyone he caught smoking. As for drinking, — that would be committing moral leprosy.

An education leader in Minnesota reported:

Although our district is pretty liberal, most teachers remain far enough within bounds to be on the safe side.

A comment from an Iowa teacher read:

Smoking and dancing are still prohibited in our town, although the best citizens go to dances and light cigarettes. Our contracts would not be renewed if we did that.

And from the South another teacher reported:

We wouldn't dare to smoke in public. You couldn't possibly take a highball where anyone could see you. Playing cards even for fun is frowned upon. I'm ready to quit and gulp a breath of fresh air again.

Greenhoe's study of the community conduct codes supports these personal responses of the teachers. Table XIX indicates the net approval and disapproval of school board members, students, and teachers themselves to certain teacher behavior. The school board members highly disapproved of a teacher's not attend-

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[26] Brookover, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
[27] Fine, *The Crisis in American Education, op. cit.*, p. 22.

ing church, smoking, or playing cards for money.   They also disapproved of single women living in their own apartments; the board recommends a room in the right home.   Other responses by the board members indicate the special codes by which teachers are expected to live.

The responses of the teachers to the same behavior items indicate that they also approve many of the special restrictions by which they live.   They identify themselves with the community and accept many of its standards of conduct.   The president of a Kansas teachers' association was one of this type.

> Teachers have quite a lot of freedom.   However, married teachers cannot teach on regular salary; nor do the teachers, male or female, smoke or dance in public.[28]

Although practices in American communities have changed, teachers are still expected to behave in accordance with standards established for them alone.   The community assumes a greater responsibility for the supervision of the activities of the teacher than for those of the policeman or fireman.   The commonly expressed rationalization for this special code is that the teachers must set a moral example for the children.   The validity of such a demand is weakened for the children when they discover that their parents do not follow the special behavior code imposed on the teachers.   Despite the decreasing importance of the parents in the process of child training and development, it can hardly be demonstrated that the teacher is more important in these matters.   The fact that the teachers are expected to, and do, behave differently from the parents leads the child to the conclusion that the teachers are odd and nonhuman.

The special codes for teachers are enforced by both formal and informal means. The former include such devices as contract terms, administrative advice, and reprimands of various degrees.   The ultimate technique, dismissal, is used freely. The latter generally take the form of rumor and gossip.

Most teachers develop a sensitivity to the special community expectations.   School administrators frequently report that the teachers' inability or refusal to understand and to adjust to the community's code for teachers is a major cause for dismissal.   Such diffi-

[28] Fine, *op. cit.,* p. 23.

TABLE XIX.   **Percentage of net approval and disapproval reactions of representative groups to teacher behavior.** (*Negative index indicates a predominance of disapproval*) [29]

Teacher behavior	356 School board members		9,122 Teachers		1,363 Students	
	Male *	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1. Owning an automobile	61.3	60.0	64.4	59.6	81.0	79.3
2. Dating a town person	31.7	28.9	49.7	46.5	65.8	64.2
3. Dating another teacher	19.6	19.5	35.2	40.5	67.3	66.7
4. Leaving area over week-ends †	0.8	0.9	9.9	5.5	5.8	—6.7
5. Pay for coaching, speaking, etc.	—2.8	—3.1	30.4	29.0	23.3	21.8
6. Single teachers living in apartment	—6.2	—11.2	24.6	24.5	36.4	29.7
7. Buying clothes, etc., outside area	—8.5	19.4	—4.3	—4.0	—1.6	—1.5
8. Smoking in private	—9.8	—46.2	11.5	11.2	35.0	1.4
9. Not attending church	—9.9	—69.0	—54.8	—54.5	—61.6	—62.2
10. Playing cards for money	—18.2	—56.6	69.2	70.0	—72.3	—77.6
11. Joining Teachers Union	—22.5	—23.1	9.1	8.5	22.2	22.4
12. Dancing at public dance	—23.9	—26.4	5.7	4.2	25.7	19.0
13. Playing pool or billiards	—25.0	—38.2	—8.0	—17.8	—3.6	—47.2
14. Living outside community	—27.2	—29.7	—11.7	—10.8	—37.4	—39.1
15. Teaching controversial issues ‡	—34.9	—36.7	—1.2	—1.4	34.2	32.9
16. Smoking in public	—48.1	—80.7	—25.2	—61.0	—16.1	—66.7
17. Playing cards for fun	—48.1	16.9	54.3	54.5	66.8	76.1
18. Making a political speech	—55.7	—55.9	—34.9	—40.5	—53.7	—60.3
19. Running for political office	—56.1	—56.4	—33.4	—34.2	—58.4	—57.7
20. Drinking alcoholic liquors	—80.1	—81.3	—71.8	—73.2	—76.5	—76.7
21. Dating a student	—86.0	—65.7	—84.4	—86.4	—68.8	—76.7
22. Use of rouge, etc., by a woman		0.4		45.5		65.3
23. Woman teaching after marriage §		—43.2		4.7		—25.5

* Male (teacher); female (teacher).
† Item reads in questionnaire "leaving community often over week-ends."
‡ Item reads "teaching controversial social issues in the classroom."
§ Item reads "a woman who continues to teach after marriage."

[29] Florence Greenhoe, *Community Contacts and Participation of Teachers,* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941, p. 51.   Reprinted by permission of the author.

culty has little or no relation to classroom ability, but those who ignore the code are regarded as poor teachers.

Teachers display various reactions to the special behavior codes. Surprisingly, most teachers readily accept the code. The teachers themselves are frequently the first to criticize their nonconforming colleagues. Greenhoe found that more teachers accept the codes than rebel or protest against them.[30] There is no problem of teacher freedom for the conformists. The community codes are their codes. This is not the case with the rebels. Such teachers develop hostility to the community demands and object when these conflict with their own values. They talk a great deal about freedom and the right to live their own lives. The rebels generally have short teaching careers. Other teachers may seethe within, but they adjust their behavior to give an external appearance of conformity. They may take a long-range view and rationalize their conformity until the most opportune time to make a change in the code.

Teachers are expected to satisfy all groups.   In addition to the teacher's private life being restricted, his professional life and his community life are also subjected to the pressure and examination of all groups in the community. The concept of academic freedom has gained considerable acceptance in the colleges and universities in the nation, but there is little inclination to extend this independence of thought and action to the primary and secondary schools. There is a constant effort by every group to make certain that the teacher is imparting the information and concepts it thinks best. It is expected that the teacher will identify himself with each group and do what is necessary to perpetuate its interpretation of culture. Since the demands of these different groups are often opposed, the teacher must frequently walk a tightrope.

This pattern may be expressed by two types of pressure on the teacher. First is the practice of checking or directing the teacher's interpretation of the subject matter. This is particularly true in the fields of social studies, literature, and sometimes, the sciences. The second is the demand that the teacher assume certain types of work outside the classroom as a demonstration of his allegiance to the beliefs of the group.

The first of these pressures is frequently practiced by churches

[30] Greenhoe, *op. cit.,* p. 59.

and other religious groups.   The history of American education sup-
plies ample evidence of the supervision of the schools by religious
forces.   Because many of the early secondary and higher educa-
tional institutions were supported and controlled by the church, the
church came to expect religious interpretation of subject matter in
the secular schools.   It has not been difficult to obtain this conform-
ity, for many of the teachers have been trained in church-supported
institutions.   Since the church leaders are important persons in the
community, the teachers colleges have followed the practices of the
church-dominated schools in preparing the teacher to identify him-
self with the church and to teach in a way favorable to churchgoers.

This requirement is so powerful in many communities that it
takes precedence over other criteria of teaching.   In response to a
question concerning the qualifications of an instructor, the president
of a well-known teachers college said that he was "a fine Christian
gentleman."   No other qualifications were given.   Failure on the
part of a teacher to present his subject matter in a manner accept-
able to the church would usually result in dismissal.

The church organization frequently takes direct action to deter-
mine the nature of material taught in the schools.   The Scopes trial
of the 1920's, in which John Scopes was tried and convicted for
teaching the theory of evolution in Tennessee public schools, is
probably the most widely known case in which church interests were
openly involved in an attempt to control teaching.   With the gradual
reconciliation of science and religion, the frequency of such efforts
has decreased.   There are still, however, reports of efforts of sects
and churches to influence the policy of the schools on such matters
as sex, family life, war and peace, and economic and political sub-
jects.   It should not be assumed that teachers or any other significant
group seriously object to the efforts of churches in these matters.
These incidents are cited to show that the teacher is not entirely
free to teach what he likes in subjects in which the church main-
tains an interest.

Patriotic organizations have adopted a similar supervisory role
over the teacher.[31]   Their pressure has been exerted primarily in the
area of preparedness and the support of "Americanism," in con-

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[31] See William Gellerman, "The American Legion as Educator," *Teachers College
Contributions to Education, No. 743,* New York: Columbia University, 1938;
and Bruce Raup, *Education and Organized Interests in America,* New York:
Putnam, 1936.

trast to pacifism, socialism, communism, and other "isms," and in matters concerning foreign relations. These groups work in numerous ways. Among these are the sponsoring of essay, oratorical, and poster contests for students, which the teacher is expected to support and to supervise; and by public censure of teachers who teach anything to which the particular group objects.

Again, we should not assume that these pressures are opposed by a large number of teachers. There are occasional incidents in which the teacher objects to the attempts of such organizations to force the children of minority groups to comply with certain practices. As a group, however, teachers have generally refrained from voicing their opposition. They accept the practice without question. Teachers and administrators must constantly be alert to avoid saying anything that may be interpreted as antagonistic to the established position of the community guardians of patriotism. Few administrators venture to hire or to defend a teacher about whom such organizations or persons raise a question. The recent Communist investigations have increased the feeling on this subject.

Similar in many ways is the pressure of business groups to maintain the sort of teaching and subject matter they desire. Business organizations have exerted pressure to make teachers present in a favorable light those subjects in which they are interested. There is also an attempt to set the limits within which the schools function by controlling the funds available to the schools through taxation.[32]

Parent-Teachers Associations, the League of Women Voters, and other organizations have attempted to rally public opinion in support of the schools. Labor unions have sometimes opposed the efforts of the business groups to restrict the teacher's activities and to control the material that is taught.

Many groups expect the teachers to assume certain roles outside of the classroom. They are expected to attend church functions of all kinds and to participate in the activities of the church organizations. Leaders of the religious education program in the churches assume that the teachers will continue their work on Sundays as well as during the week. Thus, it is sometimes taken for granted that they will teach a Sunday School class in the morning, and perhaps

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[32] See Frederick T. Rope, "Opinion Conflict and School Support," *Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 838,* New York: Columbia University, 1941, pp. 19–45.

lead a youth group in the evening. Lichliter found that 75 per cent of a sample of 232 teachers in 34 states resented demands that they teach Sunday School.[33] In about 10 per cent of the cases, these teachers had experienced actual pressure on them to teach Sunday School and to participate in other church activities.

Many community organizations expect the teacher to assume responsibility for supervising certain aspects of their programs. Parents frequently feel the teachers' role in the Parent-Teachers Association is to provide programs for the meetings. The Farm Bureau occasionally expects the teachers to function in a similar manner for its organization.

In addition to, or in the absence of, specific tasks required of the teachers in most communities, they are expected to "show an interest in the community" by staying there during week-ends,[34] attending church and other functions, patronizing the local merchants, contributing to all local charities, and supporting all worthy causes. But they are expected to do so unobtrusively and without urging by the agency setting the pattern of expectancy.

Some "special" teachers are expected to assume atypical roles. In the discussion of teacher roles thus far, we have been concerned with the typical teacher in the average community. There are, however, some teachers who do not find it necessary to assume the typical roles. One example is the teacher in his home community. Such a person has established himself in other roles through previous participation in community life. The teacher role is merely an additional area of activity rather than a separate role expectation. Waller [35] pointed out both the advantages and disadvantages to the home teacher.

The home teacher can live a more normal life and associate with others more freely. In addition, he frequently has the advantage of being identified with such power groups in the community that the superintendent dare not dismiss him regardless of the quality of his teaching. But the home teacher may suffer in other ways. People in the community are rarely willing to honor a person they have known in other relationships. For this reason, the home

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[33] Mary Lichliter, "Social Obligations and Restrictions on Teachers," *School Review*, Jan. 1946, pp. 17 ff.
[34] See Table XIX, p. 247.
[35] Willard Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching, op. cit.,* pp. 64–65.

teacher may have greater difficulty in establishing control and prestige in the classroom.   In spite of this, it is usually easier for the home teacher to maintain his position because of his ability to gain support on the basis of other activities.   An incompetent teacher of this sort often is able to force out the administrator who seeks his dismissal.

In addition to the home-town teacher, there are others who have special roles in the community.   Among these are the athletic coach, the band director, and the administrator.   During periods in which the coach succeeds in producing winning teams, he is the idol of the sports fans and, in many cases, of the whole community. He is looked upon as someone different from the ordinary teacher. He is honored by many groups and may be admitted to the more restricted social cliques.   The coach gets special attention in the local newspapers and becomes known to many people unfamiliar with the school.   The unsuccessful coach is more readily criticized and more easily dismissed than the typical classroom teacher.   He must succeed in order to enjoy the special acceptance of the community.

Quite apart from winning or losing, the coach is better known than the average teacher.   In communities where school athletics are popular and a large percentage of the population attends the games, the coach is a key person in the community life.   As we have seen,[36] athletics serve a significant function in maintaining *esprit de corps,* and the coach assumes importance in developing and maintaining school and community unity and morale.

Very much the same can be said of the role of the director of a school band which becomes the object of community identification and interest.   The successful person in such a role receives much greater recognition than the other teachers.

The administrator, the liaison between the school and the community, is also frequently expected to be different from the other teachers.   In many cases, the superintendent or chief administrator represents the board of education and is expected to identify himself with the patrons or taxpayers.   Administrators usually have more contact with the patrons in dealing with the problems of the children and in other public relation activities than does the average teacher.   In these contacts, the people become better acquainted

[36] See Chapter 7.

with the administrator and see him behave in ways that are quite different from the stereotyped concepts of teacher behavior.   As a result they do not expect him to assume the teacher roles in the community.   It is not unusual for people to think he is different from the typical teacher, when, in reality, they became acquainted with him only after he assumed the administrative position.

There are other teachers who assume atypical roles of various sorts.   When such cases are found, an analysis of the circumstances will usually reveal that they involve some unusual function in the school or additional roles in the community.

TEACHER ROLES IN RELATION TO OTHER TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

Although the discussion of teacher roles to this point was based on limited evidence, there are some research and independent observations to support the description of the expected patterns of behavior.   The analysis of the patterns of behavior in relations with other teachers must be drawn even more from the author's research and individual observations, for only very limited studies of these roles have been made.

Roles reflect status and competition for status.   We saw in Chapter 5 that many teachers come from the lower-middle class of society.   Entry into the occupation does not necessarily give a higher status.   There is, however, a common belief that teaching is a steppingstone to a better position.   Many patterns fit into this general category of attempts to move up the status scale.   These include transfer to other occupations as well as promotions in the educational hierarchy.

In view of his status and his belief in the possibility of improving it, the teacher uses the traditional American techniques of competition with his co-workers in the struggle for promotion.   This pattern is demonstrated by the lack of interest of teachers in supporting a united effort to gain recognition for teachers as a group. It is more common for them to seek every opportunity to lose their identity with the group.

The desire to be identified with a higher stratum of the social structure causes the teacher to use the techniques of a highly competitive society and to exploit other teachers in an effort to establish

roles in another group. Such techniques and desires are contradictory to any urge the teacher might have to unite with other teachers as have the skilled and semiskilled laborers of the country, whose status, in many cases, is more satisfying than that of the teachers. This difference is probably related to the fact that the laborers have lost their faith in the so-called open class system and are seeking to increase their power within the current class structure. Teachers have taken on the role largely because of their faith in the possibility of improving their current status.

The struggle outlined above is reflected in the relationships found among teachers. Regardless of the merit upon which a promotion may be granted, those who do not receive recognition tend to be jealous and to belittle the qualifications of the person who is advanced. Every teacher in elementary or secondary school and college is "familiar with the jealousies and the bickering, the backbiting and other types of unprofessional conduct that mark the human relations in many schools in the country today. . . . Such things are only to be expected, for it is the most natural thing in the world that a scheme involving ruthless competition should make for selfishness and lack of ethics." [37] Although this statement involves the value judgments of the authors, it has merits for our analysis in that it describes the nature of teacher relationships in their struggle for status. It is particularly true of behavior when the promotion of a colleague is involved.

The attitude of the administrator or supervisor toward his subordinates is generally characterized by an authoritarian role and an unsympathetic identification with the teachers. No doubt, such a pattern is, in part, a transfer of his former authoritarian role in relation to students to his present relations with the ordinary teacher. This transfer of roles is expressed by a teacher who rebelled against the inferior status to which he was assigned by the administrators:

> The statement was made in your symposium (November) that the teachers should assume some part in planning the program of the entire school. Have you ever found one still in the profession who tried it?
>
> As long as our administrators, supervisors and principals are composed largely of women and little men who have spent years

[37] S. Robert Koopman, Alice Meil, and Paul J. Misner, *Democracy in School Administration,* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1943, p. 124.

talking down to immature individuals and were then promoted to executive positions without any preparation in true democratic leadership and solely because that was the only way to increase their salary; just so long as these people insist that to satisfy, you must teach the way they taught, scowl the way they scowl, and wear their length of skirts — just so long you will have "pernicious professional anemia." . . .

Let us devise some way of giving the downtrodden a voice that can be heard, a chance, if you please, to promote professional standards in a profession composed of free men and women.   Can you have professional bosses?   There is little hope for the profession which sends its novices through a long process of being tied to the apron strings.[38]

The following rules and regulation presented to the teachers in one community illustrate the school board's and administrator's expectations of teachers.

SCHOOL POLICIES, RULES, AND REGULATIONS FOR THE SCHOOL YEAR 1953–1954 [39]

THE TEACHER'S DAY AND WORK SCHEDULES

Teachers are to be in their rooms one-half hour before school opens each morning and remain in the afternoon approximately one-half hour after school is out.   Occasionally, for personal reasons, you may leave at 4, and some days you may have to stay until 6 to finish your work.

CENTRAL SCHOOL TIME SCHEDULE

Junior and Senior High School
9 : 30–12 : 30   1 : 00–4 : 00

All Central School teachers are to be present when the doors are unlocked at 8:30.   Buses arrive about this time, and it is important to have our students supervised at all times.

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[38] "A Letter to the Editor," *Michigan Educational Journal,* Michigan Education Association, Jan. 1937, p. 225.   Also in Koopman *et al., op. cit.,* pp. 126–127. Reprinted by permission.

[39] Excerpts from the "School Policy, Rules and Regulations for Bronson Community Schools, 1953–54," Bronson, Michigan, as approved by the Board of Education and Administration.   Reproduced by permission of the Superintendent.

Additional duties will be equitably distributed among the teaching personnel within a building. Such duties will consist of the following: noon hour, playground and corridor supervision, (Anderson) building duties, supervising the crowd and selling tickets at school events, class sponsors, and many other chores that must be done to run a good school.

BETWEEN CLASSES

It will be appreciated, where and when possible, if teachers will step to their doors during the passing of classes. Your presence will result in less jockeying and more orderly passing.

TEACHERS' MEETINGS

One All-School Faculty meeting will be held each month. The program will be planned by the administration and the Teachers' Club. Every teacher is expected to attend this meeting. The administration will call other meetings as need arises.

EXAMINATIONS

Standard form Battery Tests will be available for all grades through the 8th for Semester Examination.

High-school teachers will prepare their own tests, which will be constructed to cover the subject thoroughly and to use fifty-five (55) minutes writing time. All tests should be in the office for mimeographing *ONE WEEK* before semester examinations begin.

Tests or examination of general sorts are urged as measures of accomplishment. The tests grade the teacher as well as the student, the student on his success in grasping the ideas presented, the teacher on his success in making the ideas presented understandable to the student. There would seem to be little point in giving tests each six weeks. Examinations over logical units of work at convenient intervals might serve best.

All six weeks' and semester grades should be placed on special forms in the office at the close of each marking period.

ARTIFICIAL LIGHTS

From time to time rooms have been observed with shades down and all the *electric lights* on. It is not the policy of the Board of Education or the school administration to suggest a saving of electricity at the expense of eyesight. However, funds paid for un-

necessary electricity cannot be put to other use.   Please turn off the lights when your room is not being used.

Window shades are to be rolled so as to allow the maximum entrance of light at all times, without interference of direct sunlight.   The electric lights are not to be turned on unless, after the shades are adjusted, there is insufficient light.   All shades are to be adjusted at night so as to present a uniform appearance.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

Every teacher is a public relations agent of the school while in school and out.   As public employees, our standards should be high at all times.   We are professional people with a noble calling.   Our duty and responsibility are clear.   Our challenge is to meet it each day with enthusiasm, and discharge it in an efficient manner. . . .

In addition to documenting the administrator's dominant role in relation to his staff, these directions suggest the teacher occupies much the same position as the child in the common teacher-pupil interaction situation.   We can infer that the relations within the school are characteristically those between superordinates and subordinates.   This is true of both teacher-pupil and administrator-teacher relationships.   Whether one precedes the other or both are parts of the total situation is not yet known, but Dewey advanced the theory that the teacher assumes the role as a result of his suffering under the administrator's domination.   He suggested the need for democratic procedure in the following statement:

There is a disposition to pass on to those who are under the immediate jurisdiction of the teacher — namely, the children — the pattern of strict subordination which they themselves have to follow. It may be a guess, but I think it is a safe guess, that the dictatorial, autocratic attitude adopted by some teachers in the classroom is, in some considerable measure, a reflection of what they feel they suffer from.   It offers a partial compensation for their own subjection.   If these teachers had an opportunity to take some active part in the formation of general policies, they might well be moved to be less autocratic in their own domain.[40]

[40] John Dewey, "Democracy and Education Administration," *Official Report,* New Orleans Convention of the American Association of School Administrators, Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, Feb. 1937, p. 54.   Reprinted by permission.

Because promotion to a supervisory position is interpreted as evidence of success in the struggle toward a higher social status, the authoritarian relationship maintained by the administrator with the teacher may be the result of the unexpressed desire to demonstrate and to flaunt his success.   A belief common among teachers is that the person who becomes an administrator adopts the views of the school board and identifies himself with the more powerful community elements, rather than try to retain his identity with the teacher group.

Teachers will work in extracurricular or community activities to win favor from the administrator or other higher-status persons. This indicates that there is not a distinct pattern of opposition between them.   Rather, there is a desire on the part of one to maintain his status, and with the other, jealousy and a wish to attain similar status.   Teachers are very sensitive to the criticisms of their supervisors, since such criticisms may be interpreted as jeopardizing their opportunities for advancement.   Supervisors whose task it is to improve the work of teachers have found much resistance to their suggestions.   A change of title from "supervisor" or "critic" to "helping teacher" has been made in many places to overcome this resistance to criticism.   The teacher who believes the administrator obtained his position on some basis other than superior qualifications — perhaps the extent to which he identified himself with the group in control of the community — considers such criticisms unfair.

Roles reflect lack of identification with the community.   The patterns of interaction among teachers are frequently influenced by their relatively anonymous role in the community.   The most significant demonstration of this is that teachers associate with other teachers more than with other groups in the society into which they are only partially accepted.   The informal cliques discussed in Chapter 8 included few nonteachers.   The closed group interaction among teachers is illustrated by the results of a brief survey of teacher marriages in several northern Indiana communities.[41]   A study of one hundred women teachers and forty-six men teachers showed that 47 per cent of the women and 68 per cent of the men had married other teachers.   Although the sample was not drawn as representative of any large group of teachers and there was no

[41] Unpublished survey in the files of the author.

analysis of the possibilities either group had to marry outside the teaching field, the percentage of those marrying within the profession was much greater than it would have been by chance. This is indicative of the tendency for teachers to associate with their own professional group rather than with other groups in the community. Greenhoe found that dating another teacher was more frequently approved than dating a town person (see Table XIX, page 247).

Women teachers are expected to associate with one another, and they are seldom invited to join other groups. To a lesser extent, the same is true of men teachers, but their opportunities to participate in other groups are more frequent. Of the sixty-six male teachers studied in rural Indiana communities, only 46 per cent associated primarily with persons other than teachers during their out-of-school time.[42] This was true in spite of the fact that 48 per cent of this group had either lived in communities in which they now taught or commuted daily from communities where they had lived for some years and had established other patterns of relationships. For those who were known primarily as teachers in the communities where they worked, there was an even stronger likelihood that they would find their friends within the teacher group. If this pattern is more common among women than it was among this group of men, it assumes the significance of an expected mode of behavior defined as role.

Although there is a concentration of intergroup association among teachers, there is considerable evidence that many teachers would prefer to find their friends among other groups. However, efforts to obtain such friends cause the teacher to become the subject of his colleagues' criticism. This is another characteristic of the relations among teachers.

Generally, teachers accept the community's code regarding their behavior. Even though the code is oppressive, they condemn their colleagues who fail to abide by it, perhaps fearing that such behavior will reflect on the entire group and decrease the chances of entering the outside society to which they aspire. It is doubtful if such fears are based on sound observation; the community's failure to accept the teachers is not due to its fear of unfavorable comparison with the teacher's intellectual attainment and distinctive morals. The teacher is more likely to be accepted into the nonteacher groups

[42] Brookover, "The Relation of Social Factors to Teaching Ability," *op. cit.*

if he disregards the taboos on smoking, drinking, dating, and other behavior considered immoral for teachers. Acceptance outside the teaching group usually does not change the teacher's rating by either the community or his colleagues. In fact, it may disqualify him for the job. The teacher is faced with a real dilemma. If he assumes the roles necessary for participation in the nonteacher groups, he becomes the object of unfavorable criticism from the members of the teaching group. The dilemma may not be so great if the teacher and his family have had established roles in the community before he assumed the teaching position.

Interaction in the teacher group seems to be characterized by domination, criticism, and a competitive struggle for status. Although these are significant aspects of the teacher roles, there are many exceptions to this pattern. As indicated by Koopman and others,[43] administrators are trying to establish democratic patterns of school organization and to define community roles in such a way that the teacher need not limit himself to the interteacher relationships described here. Such situations are rare at the elementary- and secondary-school level, although some change in this direction is no doubt occurring.

Professional organizations reflect teacher roles.   Teaching has traditionally been looked upon as an honorable profession needing little reward in the form of monetary gain or social acceptance. Teachers have long been admonished by their superiors to lead spotless lives, both to maintain the honor of teaching and to set virtuous examples for the children. In recent years, however, there has been a tendency for teachers to feel that being honorable was insufficient unless they were also honored by higher status or better pay.

There have been attempts to gain professional status through organizations and the establishment of professional codes of ethics. Organizations have usually been dominated by administrators and higher-status teachers. Thus, their programs were based on the belief that the teacher had the high regard of the community, and it was the duty of the professional organization to provide techniques and values through which teachers could increase their *esprit de corps* and maintain their identification with the group. Except for some modest demands on the legislatures of the several

[43] Koopman, *et al., op. cit.,* passim.

states for minimum salaries, retirement plans, and tenure laws, there has been little effective work to improve the economic level of the group. Nor have the professional associations greatly increased the status of the members in the communities where they work. Terrien found little understanding of professional codes among teachers. The majority were also opposed to teacher unions.[44]

Because the higher-status persons dominating the organizations have failed to take the lead in obtaining help for the teacher, they have not greatly increased the feeling of unity or identification. Compulsory membership in the organizations serves to increase teachers' bitterness toward their superiors and to destroy incipient professional identification. Teachers join because they must and for what limited benefits can be derived, but they continue to intensify their struggle for status by other means.

Recently, there have been organizational developments based on a more realistic view of the relationships between the teacher and the administrator, and of the teacher's status in society. Although they are known by various names and have variously stated goals, these organizations can be divided into two types. The first is composed of classroom teachers within the framework of the older professional associations. This group has recognized the conflict of interests between the teacher and the administrator. It has sought to control or to influence the associations so that they will function to improve the position of the classroom teacher group.

The other type consists of a variety of organizations which have the nature of labor unions. Some have identified themselves as unions and have affiliated with organized labor groups; others try to maintain the appearance of professional organizations, but their purpose indicates that they are essentially unions.

The organizations are based on a recognition of the fact that teachers do not have the status nor the financial rewards of the upper-middle class, with which they identify themselves. They recognize also that little progress has been made toward these goals by individual competitive methods or by associations dominated by the administrative group. These organizations thus seek to gain these goals through the united efforts of the teachers. It is ques-

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[44] Frederic W. Terrien, *The Behavior System and Occupational Type Associated with Teaching,* Ph.D., dissertation, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn., 1950, p. 127.

tionable that there will be much improvement in the general social status of the teachers, for the organizations tend to define their role and the class structure more clearly than before. However, greater financial rewards may be obtained, particularly when the techniques developed by the labor unions are used. An added benefit of these organizations may be a greater identification of the teacher with his group and a decreasing emphasis on competition, jealousy, and criticism among the members of the teaching group.

Questions for Discussion

1. Compare the role expected of the teacher in the traditional school with that expected of similar persons in community life.
2. Account for the view of teachers concerning the right to strike.
3. In what way do churches intervene in the program of non-denominational (public) schools?
4. How does the assumption of an unusual role in the community influence the attitude toward teachers? Why does it do so?
5. Would you describe the typical school system as one demanding "ruthless competition"? What lines would competition take?
6. How might a teacher, dissatisfied with his position in the community, bring about changes in it?
7. Describe the behavior of teachers in relation to some community groups you know well. How is this behavior related to the image which these people have of teachers?

Suggestions for Further Reading

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10.   Teacher Roles and Teacher Personality

THE MAN ON THE STREET CARRIES IN HIS MIND images of numerous occupational personality types. When a person speaks of the secretary, salesman, or teacher, his comments reflect the image which he has of each and call out similar images in the minds of his listeners. Not everyone has the same image of the teacher, but most people hold different images of teachers than they do of farmers, nurses, or other occupational groups. Such concepts of personality types are generally superficial and incomplete, but they are the basis on which people interact with persons occupying various positions in any society. The accuracy or verification of such personality types or images in actual behavior seldom concerns the average man. Although these are stereotyped images, each person reacts to the teacher, salesman, or secretary as if the image were real.

Nearly every American has an image of teachers which affects his interaction with them in various situations. The identification of some aspects of this image is therefore necessary for an understanding of both the teacher's personality and the behavior which others expect of teachers.

The common teacher stereotype is expressed in art, cartoons, literature, radio, television, and the movies, as well as in everyday conversation. The popularity of several radio and television programs indicates that some aspects of this image are so generally known to Americans that teacher jokes and school situations based on the stereotype are readily communicated to a mass audience.

One of the widespread stereotypes of the teacher involves incompetence. "Those who can, do; those who can't, teach" is the expression of a common belief that only those incapable of other work become teachers. It is possible, of course, that some persons, unable to become doctors, lawyers, or engineers, do resort to teaching as a second choice; but nearly all teachers have demonstrated the ability to meet college requirements. They usually, therefore, have intellectual ability which equals or surpasses the average of the population, and of most other occupational groups. Furthermore, there is little evidence to support the contention that teachers could not succeed in other occupations. Many teachers have demonstrated competence also in writing, lecturing, editing, selling, and other work. But many people do have a stereotyped image of the teacher as an inept and incompetent person.

Another stereotype, that of the teacher as an inhuman, emotionless person, is sometimes held by teachers as well as laymen. A teacher writing anonymously in a popular magazine said:

> I am a schoolteacher in a small town in the Middle West. I admit this rather reluctantly now because my past experience has made me all too keenly aware of the consequences of such a confession. I know that the moment I make it an invisible wall of reserve will automatically rise between us. I am no longer a human being to you, a person who sees, hears, loves, hates, thinks, hopes, and fears. Instead I become a dull person, uninteresting person, a paragon of virtue, a member of the third sex; in short — a schoolteacher.[1]

The breadth of distribution of this image, made possible by the barriers to association lying between teachers and others, is unknown, but it is an image commonly held.

An experienced teacher who operated a boarding house for office girls and female teachers for ten years compiled for the writer the following list of her observations about the behavior of the two groups:

Office girls	*Teachers*
Very satisfied with work	Argued about their work
More relaxed when they came home	Worked at home a great deal
	Very conscientious about their jobs

[1] "A Schoolteacher Talks Back," *American Mercury,* Vol. 35, 1933, p. 286. Reprinted by permission.

Office girls	*Teachers*
Bought clothes quite often; not very careful about them	Made clothes last; very conservative dressers
Not critical of friends	Very critical of others
More friends, especially boy friends	Only boy friends of refined status
	Accepted dates cautiously
	Had only teacher friends
Used more make-up	Used make-up very moderately
Would go out for amusements and discussed them.	Left town for amusements; did not discuss them.

An attempt to determine whether the popular image of the schoolteacher personality is recognizable was reported by McGill.[2] In this study, ten photographs of approximately equal size were mounted on a large cardboard. Half were of men, and half were of women. Only three of the ten pictures were of teachers, and these were women. The three teachers included two who were selected because they were believed to conform to the schoolteacher stereotype: they looked like teachers to the people conducting the experiment. The pictures were presented to a group of students, who were asked to identify them as to occupation and to give reasons for each identification.

The teachers who were believed to conform to the stereotype were identified as teachers more frequently than would be expected by chance. One was identified as a teacher by 86 of 138 students; the second, by 69 of 137 students. The third was identified as a teacher by only 32 of 130 students, and as an office worker by 33. The reasons given most frequently for identification as teachers involved combinations of stern, dignified, firm, reserved, determined, set, and stony facial expressions. The findings of this study are far from conclusive, but they do indicate the existence of some stereotyped images of teachers' external appearance.

Similar characterizations of the teacher stereotype could be related, but these suffice to indicate that Americans hold such images. They also demonstrate that the teacher image differs markedly from the common images of other occupational groups. Although these common images may not accurately reflect the actual behavior of

[2] Kenneth McGill, "The Schoolteacher Stereotype," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* Vol. 9, 1931, pp. 642–651.

teachers, they suggest the need for a more objective analysis of teacher personality. For this we must first consider the processes by which personality develops.

ROLE TAKING AND PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

In Chapter 9 we described some of the general or ideal-typical expectations of persons who occupy teaching positions. Though these abstract expectations are modified in interaction with a particular teacher, teachers generally are expected to exhibit a model of behavior defined by a distinct code for teachers.

The code which citizens of Brownsville expect their high-school science teachers to follow may vary in several details from the general expectations of teachers. Over the years, Brownsville science teachers have been enthusiastic sportsmen. As a result, the other men in the community have welcomed them as fishing and hunting companions. In this situation an occasional drink or telling of "for men only" stories is expected of all, including the teachers. As a result of such association, the Brownsville community permits and may expect its science teachers to vary from the model teacher. This group's expectations of the science teacher in this particular community are for a *specific role,* in contrast with the more general role or status expectations associated with the occupation.

The men of Brownsville will interact with a new high-school science teacher with this as well as other expectations in mind. If the teacher has any desire for a favorable evaluation by the community, he will attempt to fulfill its expectations as he understands them. If the teacher's role expectations are different from the community's, the difference must be adjusted in some way, or unfavorable reactions will result. In some cases, others will modify their expectations as they interact with the teacher. In other instances, the teacher will learn the group's expectations and behave in accordance with them. If neither of these adjustments or a combination of them occurs after a period of interaction between the teacher and the group, the association is likely to be discontinued. Frequently this means rejection of the teacher, for the degree to which teachers are permitted to behave outside the role expectations is limited.

Persons who desire to succeed in a teaching position and to re-

ceive the rewards for successful teaching performance generally learn to take the teacher role. This involves both some general expectations of teachers and specific definitions of the role which the teacher is taking. It must be noted, however, that the definition of the teacher role grows out of the expectations of both the teacher and the other actors in the situation. Through interaction or communication, the roles are defined in the minds of persons on both sides of the association. Such roles become stabilized forms of behavior and characterize both the teacher's self-image and the images which others have of him in this situation. This self-image and the other images of the person in turn affect his position or status in the group and its expectations of him.[3]

In accordance with the theory of human behavior outlined in Chapter 1, we may say that the personality of the teacher — or of any other person — emerges out of social interaction. For our purposes, personality can be defined as the patterns which characterize the behavior (ideas, attitudes, and actions) of a person in dealing with himself, other persons, and situations. If a person repeatedly behaves in a certain manner in particular social situations, one can expect him to meet similar situations in much the same way. These characteristic patterns of expected behavior are formulated through the interaction of persons in recurring social situations. The combination of recurring images which a person has of himself and which others have of him is his *personality*.

We have noted some typical characteristics of teacher roles and the significance of role-taking in personality development. The process by which a person repeatedly taking teacher roles may come to behave as a teacher is illustrated by a fictional teacher's life history in a radio drama.[4]

JENNINGS: Hello there.
DOCTOR: Bless me! Well, come in, Edith! Stop hovering at the door. Sit down, child, sit down!
JENNINGS: Oh Doctor Harry, if you only knew what it means to hear myself called "Edith" and "child."
DOCTOR: You don't like it?
JENNINGS: Like it! I love it!

[3] See Kimball Young, *Personality and Problems of Adjustment,* Appleton-Century-Crofts, new ed., 1952, pp. 156–64, for a discussion of roles and status.
[4] *Schoolteacher — 1947,* "The Portrait," mimeographed script of broadcast, American Broadcasting Company, Feb. 16, 1947, pp. 4–22, passim. Reprinted by permission.

DOCTOR:	Something bothering you, Edith?
JENNINGS:	No. I'm feeling fine.
DOCTOR:	Good!
JENNINGS:	Doctor Harry — you see before you a very disturbed woman. But maybe, for once in my life, I'm also a very determined woman.
DOCTOR:	Yes?
JENNINGS:	Aren't you going to ask me why?
DOCTOR:	I'm waiting for you to tell me.
JENNINGS:	And I'm waiting for some idea of how to begin to tell you.
DOCTOR:	If I were still in practice, I'd say let's hear the symptoms.
JENNINGS:	Doctor Harry, do you remember Jack Crawford?
DOCTOR:	Crawford — Crawford? Oh! Certainly! He's the fellow I once thought maybe you'd —
JENNINGS:	That's right.
DOCTOR:	Nice young chap as I remember. Edith, why in the world *didn't* you marry him?
JENNINGS:	It's always polite for a lady to wait for an invitation.
DOCTOR:	From what I've heard it's the lady who must invite an invitation.

(pause)

Conflict between heart and career?

JENNINGS:	No. No — a woman schoolteacher can get married in this town — there's no *law* against it.
DOCTOR:	Well, then?
JENNINGS:	Do you remember when I first met Jack?
DOCTOR:	Of course. When you first came back from college.
JENNINGS:	During my first year of teaching. I was a mighty happy girl then, Doctor Harry — eager, ambitious — ready to work hard and full of plans for the future.
DOCTOR:	And, of course, marriage was part of those plans. Edith, — you're not beginning to worry about that now?
JENNINGS:	No, Doctor Harry, it's nothing like that! No, this is no time to regret something that happened over ten years ago. I'm not the type to live "in memories" anyway. I just brought it up because maybe telling you about Jack is one way of telling you what I came here to tell you. The important part of it began one

evening in Sheperd's Coffee Shop — just after Jack
and I had been to a movie. We sat in that restau-
rant . . .

(*Sneak restaurant noises.*)

chattering away like a couple of kids which we really
were —

JACK: All right — I give up — Clark is the most wonder-
ful, the most glamorous, the most fabulous, the most
perfect man in the whole wide world. Now drink
your coffee and have a cigarette.

JENNINGS: No cigarette, thanks. I'd better not.

JACK: Better not? Lady, you aren't in the schoolroom now.

JENNINGS: I know but —

JACK: What in the world's wrong with smoking a cigarette?

JENNINGS: There's nothing wrong.

JACK: Then here.

JENNINGS: Really Jack — ! You're right. Thanks I will have
one.

JACK: (*laugh*) Picture of the daring young schoolmarm
smoking a cigarette in public!

JENNINGS: Please, Jack — there's no rule against it — I just,
well, I just —

JACK: You were just being silly.

JENNINGS: Yes.

JACK: Look, Edith, seriously — you don't have to stop be-
ing a human being just because you're a school-
teacher.

JENNINGS: On the contrary — I have to be *more* of a human be-
ing. After all, when you're dealing with children —

MRS. ROSS: (*purposeful and cold*) Good evening, Miss Jennings.

JENNINGS: (*startled*) Mrs. Ross! I'm sorry I didn't see you
come in.

MRS. ROSS: Yes — I saw you didn't see me.

JENNINGS: I'm afraid I don't understand that, Mrs. Ross.

MRS. ROSS: If you'd seen me, you might have managed to hide
that cigarette you're smoking.

JENNINGS: Hide it! Why — ?

MRS. ROSS: Miss Jennings, the parents of your students believe
that a teacher should set an example.

JENNINGS: Certainly . . . but surely. . . .

MRS. ROSS: In some homes smoking is not looked upon as a very
desirable habit.

JACK: (*smile*) Surely, Mrs. Ross, that doesn't mean. . . .

MRS. ROSS: (*icy*) And I may add that being out at all hours with young men may not be the ideal way to prepare for the next day spent with young, impressionable minds.

               (*fading*) Good-night, Miss Jennings!

JACK: (*slight pause*) (*humor*) The woman's obviously mad!

JENNINGS: Jack, I'd better go on home now.

JACK: You mean to say you're going to let that —

JENNINGS: (*firmly*) Will you take me home now?

JACK: Of course.

JENNINGS: Believe me, Jack — I know what I'm doing — I know!

               Music. . . . Tag. . . . Brief. . . .

JENNINGS: But *did* I know what I was doing, Doctor Harry? It was natural I suppose for a direct frontal attack of that sort to upset a young teacher who wanted with all her heart to live up to the standard expected of her. My mistake — and I know now it was a mistake — was accepting the standard Mrs. Ross set as the proper standard — Maybe deep down underneath I did realize something was wrong because I went right on seeing Jack. But I *didn't* smoke any more cigarettes publicly *or* privately — that was easy to give up. Still when Jack and I went out together and met people we knew, which was very often, of course, some little remark was always sure to be made — some just teasing, others really serious — and so, little by little, I became rather tense. As I look back I see that the total effect of those remarks was to put me on guard — make me feel guilty for behaving the way any normal girl of twenty-four or twenty-five years would act. And I actually let myself be convinced that I *was* different — that a different type of behavior *could* justifiably be expected of me. I didn't realize that what I was doing was simply nobody else's business. Jack was very understanding about it. . . . But one evening I went to a party — Jack was there. . . .

               (*Sneak party noises.*)

               For quite a while he didn't see me in the midst of all

the people. Then suddenly, he did see me — he called out —

JACK: Edith — Edith (*fade on*) I've been looking all over the place for you.

JENNINGS: I was late and I —

JACK: More papers to correct?

JENNINGS: (*smiles*) No — just more lessons to prepare.

JACK: Look my pretty little schoolteacher, this nonsense has got to stop. Now would you like to leave here and go dancing with a crowd of us at Nick's?

JENNINGS: (*pleased*) Well, now, I think that could be arranged —

RUTH: (*calling*) Jack! Jack Crawford! Oh, there you are. We're all ready to leave. Come on.

JACK: Ruthie, you run along with the others — I'll. . . .

RUTH: But we need your car and. . . .

JACK: (*firm*) Ruthie — I'll see all of you later. I'm taking Edith along, so. . . .

RUTH: Taking Edith! Don't be silly — Edith doesn't want to come dancing with us — do you, Edith?

JENNINGS: Well, Ruthie, I did think. . . .

RUTH: Why she probably has to go right home and correct papers or something — isn't that right?

JACK: Now listen, Ruth. . . .

JENNINGS: She's right! You go along with them now, Jack. (*pause*) Well, go on.

JACK: You — you really want me to go without you?

JENNINGS: Certainly! I said Ruthie was right — I always have papers to correct — lots and lots of papers. . . .

Music. . . . Tag. . . . Brief. . . .

JENNINGS: They were all going out for a good time and I was no longer a part of it because I was now "teacher" and I might put a damper on the festivities. But at the time I was just a girl taking a situation at face value — and Jack was just a boy accepting dismissal from that girl. That was the last party I went to, Doctor Harry — not because I didn't want to go or was bitter in any way — I just plain wasn't invited — to the young men and women I had grown up with I was now a different person living a different life from theirs. Whether I could have done anything about it . . . and remained a teacher — is

	doubtful. But I didn't even try! So, my social activities began to be confined more and more to general community functions and that's where I've ended up now (*smile*) behind the refreshment counter!
DOCTOR:	And Jack?
JENNINGS:	Well, flames have to be fed to grow, Doctor Henry. I accepted the community's view of my position — Jack tried to reason with me . . . I tried to explain . . . neither of us was successful!
DOCTOR:	Now, Edith, you've known all this for a long while; it can't be just this that's gotten you so upset all of a sudden. All these years you've been following your profession and you've. . . .
JENNINGS:	"Profession." Now there's an interesting word, Doctor Harry. To most people, entering a profession is a very desirable thing — a profession carries with it prestige — self-respect — honor! I'm not so sure all that applies to the teaching "profession." I'm beginning to wonder how it can.
DOCTOR:	Are you here this morning, Edith, to rationalize a way out for yourself — to have me tell you that you ought to resign?
JENNINGS:	No, Doctor Harry, I've just come to explain that I'm GOING to resign. Teachers have been "taking it" too long. Why do I have to fight and struggle to be a decent teacher — and what do I, as a person, get from it? Yes, I've decided I'm afraid of what remaining a teacher will do to me! Why should we go on fighting a battle that no one cares about — why should we submit to being "old-maids" or "tough battle-axes" — why should we continue to allow ourselves to be pitied?
JENNINGS:	No, Doctor Harry, teaching isn't an honorable profession, any longer — it gives no reward either in the personal or in the professional life. So I'm getting out and I'm getting out to stay.

This fictional case history illustrates how a congenial group changed its expectations of one of the members when she became a teacher.   The group's definition of the teacher role was applied to Edith Jennings, who accepted the definition and came to behave much as she was expected to.   We see here the illustration of a

general process.   The special virtues she is expected to display, the afterhours requirements of the position, and the constant supervision of her activities outside the school isolate the teacher from her former congenial group.   Gradually she is set apart from one group in which her personality had developed and in which she had assumed satisfying roles.   The group now expects her to act like a teacher — a person different from the one they previously knew. That this happened to Edith is indicated by Ruth's comment, ". . . don't be silly — Edith doesn't want to come dancing with us — do you, Edith? . . . why she probably has to go right home and correct papers or something. . . ."   In order to avoid acquiring a teacher personality, of which she had an unfavorable image, Edith Jennings resigned.   On the other hand, many teachers find teacher roles pleasant and readily adjust their behavior to them. Others may have acquired essentially the same patterns of behavior prior to entering the teaching position.

In any event, the drama suggests that persons who take teacher roles come to behave in ways defined by those roles.   A further examination of the hypothesis that the teacher's is a distinguishable personality type is in order.

THE TEACHER OCCUPATIONAL PERSONALITY TYPE

An analysis of the roles which teachers play in various groups provides the foundation for an investigation of the hypothesis that teachers can be characterized as having an occupational personality.   The teacher takes a variety of roles in various social situations.   But if these teacher roles require particular patterns of behavior in many situations, such behavior may be said to be typical of teachers.

The relationship between occupational role prescriptions and the personality of persons occupying the positions has been the subject of several investigations.   In considering this relationship, Newcomb wrote:

Some degree of correspondence between role prescription and personality is, in fact, the rule rather than the exception.   Sometimes people's personalities are modified as they learn to take the roles prescribed for them.   Sometimes individuals having certain kinds of personalities are especially apt to be selected, or to select them-

selves, to take certain roles. Very often both of these processes go on together. In any case we should expect to find in any society a good many positions whose occupants are likely . . . to have certain personality characteristics in common.[5]

Several studies have shown the relationship between selected occupations and personality type. W. E. Henry found that successful business executives had several personality characteristics in common.[6] Hughes analyzed the personality and self-images of several occupational groups and the relation of social position to personality.[7]

The common stereotype of teachers suggests the desirability of an objective examination of their personality. Studies of this sort have characterized the female teacher [8] and the college professor.[9] Terrien made a more comprehensive analysis of the teaching type. Some aspects of the hypothesized occupational type associated with teaching in the community studied were:

1. Not strongly motivated to enter the occupation.
2. Not strongly motivated toward advancement.
3. Somewhat, though not generally, dissatisfied with the occupation.
4. Inclined to accept the *status quo* with uneasy grace, making little effort for change. . . .
5. Likely to be co-operative and helpful — as in the case of granting interviews.
6. Adept at school work.
7. Somewhat likely to grow authoritarian over time.
8. More inclined to follow than to lead.
9. More likely to be conservative than to be liberal, though not bigoted.

[5] Theodore Newcomb, *Social Psychology,* New York: Dryden Press, 1950, p. 410. Reprinted by permission of The Dryden Press.
[6] W. E. Henry, "The Business Executive: The Psycho-dynamics of the Social Role," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 54, 1949, pp. 286–291.
[7] E. C. Hughes, "Personality Types and the Division of Labor," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 33, 1928, pp. 754–768; "Institutional Office and the Person," *ibid.,* Vol. 43, 1937, pp. 404–413; and *"Work and the Self,"* in Muzafer Sherif and J. H. Rohrer, *Social Psychology at the Crossroads,* New York: Harper & Bros., 1951. See also Robert Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure,* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949, pp. 125–178; and E. T. Hiller, "Social Structure in Relation to the Person," *Social Forces,* Vol. 16, 1937, pp. 34–44.
[8] Francis Donovan, *The School Ma'am,* Philadelphia: Stokes, 1938.
[9] Logan Wilson, *Academic Man,* New York: Oxford University Press, 1942, and Florian Znaniecki, *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1940.

10. Rather prone to think of teachers as different from other occupational groups — a condition which leads to stereotyping.
11. Lack of aggression.
12. A strong sense of service.
13. Considerable optimism, and a determination to make the best — emotionally — of a situation, if female, and rather generalized pessimism, if male.[10]

This evidence of an occupational personality among teachers is limited, but most observers agree that such a behavior type is distinguishable. And in one sense this is evidence of the existence of such a type. If people hold a particular image of the teacher in their minds, they react to that image. They also expect teachers to behave in accordance with that image. Not all agree on the nature of this teacher personality. Many have given undue emphasis to the undesirable characteristics of teachers and ignored the more attractive aspects of their behavior. Though present evidence suggests that a teacher occupational type can be identified, much more empirical research is necessary before valid generalizations can be made about it.

If teachers do have distinguishable personality characteristics, it may be "either because the occupation selects the type or because the personality is formed by the conditions of life within the occupation, or both." [11]

Selection as a determinant of the teacher personality type.   There is little evidence upon which to base any conclusion concerning the nature of the personalities of those who enter the teaching profession. Furthermore, it is difficult for individuals to explain why they chose a particular type of work. As indicated by Waller,[12] choice of an occupation is frequently a nonrational process. For this reason, any analysis of the importance of selection as a factor in the determination of an occupational type would require an ex-

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[10] Frederic W. Terrien, *The Behavior System and Occupational Type Associated with Teaching,* Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University Library, New Haven: pp. 402–403. (This outline of the occupational type associated with teaching is a reflection of the outline for the specifications of a behavior system posited in A. B. Hollingshead's article, "Behavior Systems as a Field for Research," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. IV, 1939, pp. 816–822.)   Reprinted by permission.

[11] E. B. Reuter, *Handbook of Sociology,* New York: Dryden Press, 1941, p. 161.

[12] Willard Waller, *Sociology of Teaching,* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1932, p. 378.

tensive study of the life history, and particularly the motivation, of the individuals concerned. Such a study has not been made.

There is some knowledge of the social background of the people who enter the teaching profession. We have seen that, typically, teachers are the children of farmers, skilled workmen, or owners of a small business. This indicates a lower-class or lower-middle-class background, but gives no information concerning the difference between the teacher and the brother or sister who did not go into teaching.

The knowledge we have of the behavior patterns of the prospective teacher is even more limited. In 1928, Pechstein reported introversion as a factor in the vocational selection of teachers. [13] A two-hour battery of personality tests and questionnaires was given to eighty-seven college sophomore girls, thirty-two women college graduates doing their first student teaching, and eighty-one experienced women teachers. General tendencies in the group indicated that the student teachers were more introverted than the sophomores, and the teachers more introverted than the student teachers. This limited evidence, obtained some years ago, suggests not only that the beginning teachers are more introverted than the sophomores, but also that either they are likely to become more introverted as they continue in their work, or the more extroverted individuals do not remain in the profession.

About four-fifths of all elementary- and secondary-school teachers are women. This fact indicates that it is difficult to attract men to the field. A few positions, such as coaching and administration, attract males, but generally the teaching group is characterized as female. This may account for the fact that many people have the notion that men who enter the profession are somewhat effeminate.

Teachers are also generally selected from the middle- and lower-middle class or from upwardly mobile lower-class groups. Terrien concluded that teachers are selected from (a) a predominantly female population, (b) native-born Americans, (c) racial and religious groups in proportion to the population, (d) middle and lower-middle classes, (e) ethnic groups common to these classes, and (f) upwardly-mobile families.[14]

[13] L. A. Pechstein, "Introversion as a Factor in the Vocational Selection of Teachers," *Psychological Bulletin*, Vol. 25, 1928, pp. 196–197.

[14] See Terrien, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–88; Waller, *op. cit.*, p. 80; A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949, p. 69.

Role expectations and the teacher personality type.   Although there is a possibility that selection is involved in the determination of the occupational type, another hypothesis is that an occupational personality of teachers results from their interaction with others after entering the profession.   There is little evidence to support such an hypothesis at this time, but evidence from other occupational personalities and numerous general impressions indicate that it might be well to explore the possibility.   The concentration of associations within the teacher group may contribute to the development of teacher personalities.   Fifty-two per cent of the teachers in New Haven found the majority of their associations among other teachers.[15]   It would seem that the occupation made it difficult for the teacher to achieve nonteacher roles in other groups.   Unless they have an opportunity to form associations outside the community in which they work, teachers are frequently faced with the fact that they must always behave in accordance with the community-expected teacher roles.   The increased proportion of married women in the profession may modify this situation.

One of the general expectations of teachers noted in Chapter 9 is that they will maintain their dominant position in the classroom. Persons who fulfill this role from day to day seem likely to develop authoritarian behavior patterns.   (It will be recalled that Terrien noted this characteristic in the occupational type.)   In some situations such behavior may be interpreted as self-confidence, a willingness to accept responsibility, or the ability to get things done.   In others, it may be construed as smugness or intolerance. The latter terms are frequently used to describe teacher personality, but a fair appraisal must include the former as well.

Although teachers are expected to dominate schoolroom situations, they are also expected to consider the problems of youth sympathetically.   Interest in and concern for the students and their problems are common among teachers.   Such experiences may lead to a sincere interest in and a better understanding of others' difficulties than is commonly found among members of other occupational groups.   Public spiritedness and genuine concern for the welfare of others may also characterize teachers.   This seems more likely when we consider the expectation that teachers should set a good example.   The community role for teachers involves a generous

[15] Terrien, *op. cit.,* p. 155.

portion of unselfishness and service to others. This and the children's anticipation of the teachers' help with school activities of all sorts may develop persons who are "co-operative and helpful" and who have a "strong sense of service."

Adherence to the teachers' rigid moral code may result in a superior or "holier-than-thou" attitude. This unfavorable self-image may lead the teacher to be over-critical of others whose behavior fails to meet her standards. At the same time it must be recognized that teachers are generally considered good people by the community's standards. The special code may lead to an image of sexlessness, but it also produces teachers who are above reproach in their sexual behavior. They attend church, work hard for long hours, and seldom fail to respond to any call for service to the community. Seventy per cent of the New Haven teachers believed that the public expected different conduct of them, and 50 per cent believed that their standards of conduct should differ from those of other citizens.[16]

The exclusion of teachers from many activities of the communities in which they live and which they serve may lead to varied effects upon their personalities. The teacher may seek a nonteacher status in the community and be thought overaggressive or overanxious for acceptance. If schoolroom dominance is carried over into the community, the nonteacher may see it as unwarranted. The teacher may react to exclusion as Edith Jennings did, by withdrawing from all activities outside the school. Some nonteachers may regard this as modest behavior; others will think the teacher snobbish and unapproachable. In any case, the fact that teachers do not participate in community groups will affect the image people hold of them. The teacher is often thought peculiar and difficult to understand. Many teachers, aware of this, try to overcome it by being highly sensitive to others. Such behavior may cause others to consider the teacher overconcerned or fussy.

One final role expectation to be considered is that teachers will accept their lot with little complaint. Since control of the school is located in the community power system which can apply various sanctions to the teachers, only those who accept their lot remain long. Teachers may complain, but positive action to change the situation is not common. In the event that power to apply sanctions is shifted, a different occupational type may be noted.

[16] Terrien, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

Waller concluded from his observations that the discernible characteristics of the teacher's personality are (1) inflexibility of personality; (2) reserve, incomplete participation in the social situation; (3) detachment, i.e., isolation, resulting from the barriers to communication which prevent others from making contact; (4) dignity, consisting of abnormal concern with a restricted role and a restricted though well-defined status; (5) didactic and authoritative manner in the discussion of any topic; and (6) conservatism, if not primness, in speech and dress.[17]   Although his terms are more harsh, his description coincides at several points with Terrien's delineation of the occupational type.   Of course, not all teachers fit such a description.   In fact, none do in all particulars. The occupational type, if it can be identified at all, is a combination of typical characteristics of teachers in general.   No such teacher in all particulars exists in reality.   The personality type is meaningful only if it helps one to understand the behavior of teachers and of others in relation to teachers.

STRESS IN THE TEACHING POSITION

Rising school enrollments and attractive employment opportunities in other fields are associated with the shortage of qualified teachers.   The rapid turnover in teaching personnel and the difficulties encountered in recruiting sufficient competent persons have caused many educators to ask why teaching is unattractive to such a large proportion of Americans.

Some of the reasons are readily perceptible.   The unfavorable image of teachers expressed in the common stereotypes discussed earlier is surely one consideration.   "Mr. Peepers," "Our Miss Brooks," and many other portrayals of teachers are not likely to make teaching attractive.   The limited financial rewards are, of course, another deterrent.   Salaries of teachers are generally lower than those of persons with comparable training in other occupations.   They are often lower, indeed, than the wages of skilled and semiskilled workers with much less formal education.[18]   An easy conclusion is that higher salaries would solve the teacher supply

[17] Willard Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching,* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1932, pp. 381–382.
[18] The average teaching salary in 1949–50 was $3,010 for the United States as a whole.   This was a sharp increase over the average of 1945–46 — $1,995, with no state paying as much as $3,000 on the average.

problem.   But this is hardly an adequate explanation, when other factors are considered.

Teaching has been identified with women.   In 1949–50, only 21.2 per cent of American elementary- and secondary-school teachers were men.[19]   "In a nation like ours, where aggressiveness and adventurousnes are virtues and the fear of being a sissy is pronounced, a man is inclined to avoid an occupation that might stigmatize him as effeminate. . . .   Being generally less submissive than women in our culture, a man is loath to accept the restrictions which teaching imposes upon individuals.   That the man's attitude regarding the effeminacy of teaching is irrational may be admitted by an impartial observer, but the stubborn fact is that many men are dissuaded from the teaching profession for the aforementioned reason."[20]   Here Bonner stresses both the effeminate image of teaching and the restrictive code for teacher behavior as unattractive features.   In an earlier period, the exclusion of married women was, no doubt, a determining aspect of the code.

There may be less apparent reasons why young people avoid teaching and experienced teachers leave it.   Among these may be the stressful nature of the position.   One study of stress in various positions in American society which is now under way includes some analysis of the teaching situation.[21]   A portion of this study explores some areas of stress in teaching [22] and examines some possible explanations of it.   In this study, *stress* is defined as the result of interference with the achievement of a satisfaction which the individual seeks from a situation.   Positions are not in themselves stressful; they may be so for some occupants who seek certain satisfactions and not so for others who do not have the same expectations.   The nature of the stress is thus dependent on what the occupant is trying to achieve in the position.   This has been termed

[19] *Biennial Survey of Education, 1949–50*, Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, p. 9.

[20] Hubert Bonner, *Social Psychology,* New York: American Book Co., 1953, p. 307.

[21] This study is being made by the Social Research Service of Michigan State College, East Lansing.   John Useem and D. L. Gibson have served as chairmen of the Research Committee.

[22] Chandler Washburne, *Involvement as a Basis for Stress Analysis: A Study of High-School Teachers,* Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State College Library, East Lansing, Mich., 1953.   This study presents an analysis of some steps in the methodology developed and some conclusions from a study of a small group of men teachers.   Although they are distinctly preliminary and perhaps applicable to only a limited universe of teachers, the results of this study are the basis for much of the following discussion.

involvement.   Washburne explained the problem as it relates to teachers as follows:

A station (position) has been selected which has certain characteristics . . . which are generally considered to be stress-producing. The purpose is to determine whether this assumption is correct, and if so, what the features of these stresses are, and recognizing the important element of involvement, to determine the range and type of "orientation to station" or involvement which people have who enter into this position. . . . This analysis was made from the relativistic position which started with the view that some things are stressful to one person and not to another and that a station is not stressful *per se* but only to certain actors and then only in certain ways.   The question then is: What makes certain situations stressful to the actor and others not?   It is obviously something occurring in the relation between the actor and the station.   For one thing, the actor will be responding only to what he perceives. . . .   Out of what is perceived only those things that interfere with the aims of the self or endanger it in some way are likely to be stressful.   This would include a variety of situations from those directly interfering with goal-oriented behavior to incompatibilities and ambiguities.[23]

Not all teachers seek the same satisfactions from a position. There are, therefore, varying types of involvement.   Four areas were selected for investigation by Washburne: (1) economic gain and security; (2) status; (3) authority or recognition and approval by varying agents or sources of authority; and (4) professional status or orientation toward teaching as a profession.

Numerous observers have mentioned the importance of economic insecurity as a source for teacher worries and maladjustments.[24]   Financial difficulties and economic conditions were most frequently given as the causes of worry in a survey of more than 5,000 teachers.

Washburne compared a group of teachers with a group of engineers by using scales to measure desire for financial success and economic security.   He found the teachers less involved in, or desirous of, financial success; but he also found that they were more involved with economic security, "the desire for an assured income

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[23] *Ibid.,* p. 14.   Reprinted by permission.
[24] See "Fit to Teach," *Ninth Yearbook,* Washington, D.C.: Department of Classroom Teachers, National Education Association, 1938.

sufficient to maintain the present level of living." [25]   This fact suggests that, while teachers do not go into the occupation with great financial expectations, they do feel their security threatened by the comparatively low salaries and the possible inability to maintain the standard of living they believe they should maintain.   The intensive analysis of a small group of men teachers indicated that there were some conflict and frustration over the means to attain desired economic ends.   Some wanted to achieve them by demonstrating professional qualifications or by rendering service to the community, while others wanted to unionize their group and to demand greater security.

In the last chapter we saw that teachers frequently do not have a fully integrated status in the community.   Teachers are also rated as having lower status than members of professions with which they like theirs to be compared.   North and Hatt reported teaching thirty-sixth in a list of ninety occupations and not far above the average for all occupations. [26]   Teachers themselves do not have a clear image of their place in the status system.   Washburne found a great variation in responses to the question "What do you think other people think of you when you first tell them you are a teacher?" A few thought they were respected or that there was a neutral reaction.   Several felt they were scorned or considered economically foolish.   But about half of this small group did not know what others thought, or gave ambivalent or confused answers.   There is apparently a feeling among many teachers that society looks up to them and down on them at the same time. [27]

Teachers who desire a clearly defined and high status in the community may find the position frustrating and leading to personality disorganization.   Many persons who enter teaching are from lower-status families and seek to improve their position through teaching.   The unranked and ambiguous position of the teachers may be particularly unsatisfying to such persons.   Others, like Edith Jennings in the radio script, enjoyed an acceptable status before becoming teachers.   These may also be disturbed by their loss of a recognized and respected place in the community society.

[25] Washburne, *op. cit.,* pp. 160–161.
[26] Cecil North and Paul Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," *Opinion News,* published by National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago, Sept. 1, 1947, pp 3–13.   Also in Logan Wilson and William Kolb, *Sociological Analysis,* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949, pp. 464–474.
[27] Washburne, *op. cit.,* pp. 64–66.

Certainly the ambiguous position of the teacher is a potential source of stress.

Another area of possible stress is that of the authority to reward or to punish teachers. We noted earlier that teachers are expected to be submissive to the controls of various community groups. The expectations and demands of these groups may run counter to the expectations of administrative superiors or the teachers' professional colleagues. Behavior which would be rewarded by one group may be condemned by another. This is illustrated by the contradictory expectations about discipline. Some community groups demand regimentation in the classroom. This attitude may or may not be supported by the administrator and some colleagues. Other groups in the community demand a more permissive type of discipline. This also may or may not be advocated by the educational leaders whose favorable opinion the teachers desire.

Some teachers are able to meet such situations by not concerning themselves with the problems or by relating themselves to only one source of authority. For others, such situations may be highly unpleasant. The teachers are expected to serve the community and to please all groups. Failure to do so may mean loss of position or other punishment. At the same time, they must please the administrator to keep their positions and to get promotions. Many teachers are also professionally oriented and seek the rewards which come with recognition by their colleagues. Thus, for many there is no clear definition of the group or person to whom they are responsible.

Washburne summarized the reactions of a small group of men teachers to this situation as follows:

It was found that the actors (teachers) studied differed quite widely in the way in which they related themselves to authority — that some were oriented to one system and some to another. They seemed to be unclear about the various alternatives and this led to contradictions in their attitudes. It kept them from fully working for the attainment of goals they wanted. It caused a good deal of stress in such things as the discrepancy between what the actors felt they should receive as rewards and what they did receive, between how they wanted others to respond to them and how others did respond. They are caught in the center of a confused mixture of orders which place conflicting demands on them. Stated over-

> simply . . . [The teacher] is caught between the structural de-
> mands of the bureaucratic organization, the traditional demands of
> the community, and a series of "ideal" demands associated with the
> profession.[28]

As Washburne indicated, the teacher must continually look to
the school administration, community groups, and his colleagues
for rewards or the avoidance of sanctions. The expectations of one
group are frequently incompatible with those of another, a con-
dition frequently identified as role conflict.

Several studies have given some attention to the types of con-
flict or contradictions in teacher roles and to their effect on the per-
formance and personalities of teachers.[29] Only very limited results
of these analyses are now available, but objective observers gen-
erally agree that there are some incompatibilities in the expectations
which various groups have of teachers.

The contradictory role expectations and the insecurity of the
teachers' position in the community make it extremely difficult to
live in this situation without some stress. The chances of stress are
probably less in large school systems, where authority is more
clearly defined in a bureaucratic structure and where the teacher's
relations with the community are less personal. At the other ex-
treme, the teachers of the small, one-room rural school can also
probably identify themselves with a predominant source of authority
more easily. It is in the great number of town and village schools
that role conflict seems most likely to occur.

Those teachers who desire recognition as professionals are faced
with another source of stress. Here again there is no clear defini-
tion of the means to attain professional status. Teachers them-
selves disagree about what should be given such recognition. Some
feel that service to the community and participation in its activities

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[28] Washburne, *op. cit.,* p. 118.

[29] A number of the studies dealing with role conflict in the teaching situation were
in process when this volume went to press. Among these are (1) Work on
school personnel as leaders at Ohio State University; (2) A Study of the roles
of school executives at Harvard University, directed by Neal Gross, and
(3) Analyses of teacher role conflicts by Getzels and Guba at the University of
Chicago. Publications dealing with aspects of these studies are Melvin See-
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Role Conflict, and Effectiveness: An Empirical Study," *American Sociological
Review,* Vol. 19, 1954, pp. 164–175.

should and do lead to recognition. Others emphasize training for and skill in the teaching process. There are probably at least two sources of stress in this area. First, teachers are not accorded the degree of professional recognition which they would like; second, there are disagreement and confusion about how such recognition may be attained.[30]

The evidence concerning stress and role conflict in the teaching position is inadequate. We have drawn heavily on a single study, which was designed primarily to develop a method for investigating stress. Washburne studied only a score of teachers. They were selected from a very limited universe of men who were continuing their training in graduate school. This places limits on our knowledge. The popular image of the teacher and the possibility that stress in the position may result in personality maladjustments make more adequate research imperative. We need to learn the impact of the teacher's position, with its numerous roles, on the personality organization. We can only hypothesize that the many dilemmas and contradictory expectations of the teacher may result in considerable stress and personality disturbances.

PERSONALITY MALADJUSTMENTS AMONG TEACHERS

For more than half a century, students of education have asked the question: Are teachers more often socially maladjusted or emotionally disturbed than persons in other occupations? Our discussion of the teacher personality type, stress in the teaching position, and conflicting teacher role expectations, as well as the popular image of teachers, suggests the possibility of an affirmative answer. But such a conclusion should not be reached without a careful examination of the evidence.

Some evidence of personality maladjustment among teachers. Over the years, there have been many studies related to the maladjustments of teachers. An examination of several studies fails to give us a conclusive answer to the question, but a brief review of them indicates the present state of our knowledge.[31]

Several studies are concerned with physical disability and causes of absence from school. Many of these causes, such as the

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 123–146.
[31] See list on pages 290–291 for sources on which part of the following analysis is based.

high frequency of respiratory diseases, may have no relation to the personality adjustment of the teachers. But recent discoveries in the field of psychosomatic medicine indicate that many of the symptoms of physical illness may also be evidence of some social and personal maladjustment.

Most of the studies made prior to 1920 were concerned primarily with the effects of teaching on the physical condition of the teacher. Some of these studies noted the incidence of "nervous breakdown," among other types of illness, as a cause of absence from school. The major limitation of these studies, as well as of the later ones, is that there is little basis for comparison with any control group of nonteachers.

Some reports indicate that a considerable proportion of the teachers — 84 per cent (Balliet), 37 per cent in the city, and 80 per cent in rural areas (Burnham) — believed that their health had been impaired by conditions connected with teaching. While this may be some indication of the psychic reaction of the teachers to the profession, it would be extremely difficult for the teachers themselves to assess accurately the extent to which their physical or mental disability was the result of the teaching situation.

Another observation that should be made, particularly of the early studies, is the mention of "nervousness" and "nervous breakdown" in a surprisingly large percentage of the reasons for absence: 34 per cent (Van Tussenbroek), 32 per cent (Steenhof), and 9 per cent (Dublin). Wickman also reported that 78 per cent of those not entirely well indicated that their ill health was due to nervousness, and Galton found that 20 per cent had suffered nervous breakdowns. But the national survey of 5,150 teachers by the National Education Association ("Fit to Teach") showed that fewer than 5 per cent were absent more than twelve days, and only 10.5 per cent were absent as many as seven days.

The later studies were more directly concerned with personality manifestations among teachers. There is practically no evidence upon which to base satisfactory comparisons with control groups, but the evidence of neurotic maladjustments of various types is sufficient to indicate that many teachers, particularly women, are maladjusted. Persons in other similar occupational groups may also be maladjusted, however.

The most significant results in this area are the following: Pech-

stein found experienced teachers more introverted than college sophomores; Mason noted that teachers were committed to hospitals at an earlier age than other patients; Hicks found that 17.5 per cent of the whole sample — 20 per cent of the women teachers, compared with 8 per cent of the men — were unduly nervous, as measured by questionnaires eliciting evidences of neurotic conditions; Phillips found that 20 per cent of a sample were extremely neurotic on the Bernreuter inventory and that they were more maladjusted than a group of prospective teachers among college students; Peck found 33 per cent of a group of female teachers maladjusted and 12 per cent in need of psychiatric service, as determined by the Thurstone inventory.

Another observation to be made from these studies is that the absence of normal family life, and frustration in relations with the opposite sex may be contributing causes in much of the maladjustment among women teachers.   This was reported by Watson, Mason, and Peck.   Hicks, on the other hand, found no significant difference between married and unmarried women teachers, but the number of married women studied was so few that the results can hardly be considered valid.   The same study showed women teachers to be more unstable than men.   This is significant in view of the fact that the teachers most frequently mentioned having a home and children as their most cherished ambition.   Peck also reported that one-third of the persons studied deplored the lack of congenial associates.

From these data there is evidence of some maladjustment among the teachers studied.   This does not provide a basis for concluding that such maladjustment is unusual or detrimental.   Furthermore, the failure to study comparable control groups makes it impossible to conclude that the conditions associated with teaching produce a greater or lesser incidence of maladjustment than is found in other occupational groups of similar background.   Final conclusions in this regard must await controlled studies of the incidence of such maladjustments among both teachers and other occupational groups involving especially a large proportion of women.

Possible causes of maladjustment.   If it were assumed that the teaching profession included a larger proportion of maladjusted

persons than would be expected by chance, there would be two possible explanations of the situation. First, it is possible that individuals who are already maladjusted or who have had experiences that predispose them to maladjustment are more likely to enter teaching than other occupations. Second, if teachers are recruited from a normal universe of personalities, a higher incidence of maladjustments presumably would result from the conditions associated with teaching. Both sets of factors might operate. As we have noted, Pechstein found female student teachers to be more introverted than sophomore college girls and experienced teachers more introverted than the student teachers. Phillips reported that prospective teachers had a higher degree of adjustment and emotional stability than the experienced teachers he studied; but he had no data on non-teachers with which to compare the group.

There is little or no evidence upon which to base a discussion of factors which might lead to recruiting maladjusted or potentially maladjusted persons for teaching positions. Only suggestions of possible factors can be offered. At an earlier date, most normal prospective women teachers may have married before entering the position; they were thus eliminated from teaching. Others left their positions for marriage after a short time. This selection process may have left a disproportionate share of maladjusted persons to staff the schools. If this is true, studies of current teaching staffs with a high proportion of married women should reveal a greater proportion of normally adjusted women.

Another factor in the selection process is the constant association between prospective teachers and those active in teaching positions during the period in which the former make vocational choices. Through this interaction, the student is able to take the role of the teacher in a variety of situations. If the teacher is maladjusted, the image acquired would be less attractive to the students than their impressions of members of other occupations and professions. If this is the case, many persons select teaching only after failure to achieve a more desired occupation. This would lead to the hypothesis that failure to achieve one's preferred occupational aspirations is related to personality maladjustment. There is a popular but unproved notion that many teachers first aspired to be doctors, lawyers, engineers, musicians, writers, actors, or workers in other fields of special interest, but failed to achieve their aspira-

tions. Many women teachers may have failed to achieve a desired early marriage and turned to teaching as a compensation for their inability to have a home and children of their own.[32] Quite apart from the selection process is the possibility that stress and contradictory demands of the teaching position are productive of maladjustment in a normal population of recruits.

Many other positions in American society involve contradictory expectations and considerable stress. Mental hospital commitments and the great numbers of nonhospitalized but maladjusted people indicate that many aspects of American culture disturb human personalities. At the same time, there are many ways in which Americans adjust to their life situations with a minimum of personal disorganization. Furthermore, a limited degree of maladjustment and stress may be necessary for satisfying, effective performance in some positions.[33]

It is easy to conclude that association with maladjusted teachers is harmful to students. But there is insufficient evidence to support this conclusion. Perhaps some maladjusted teachers are more effective than some normal ones. Association with both may help children and youth to live in the contemporary world. Certainly, until we know more about the relative extent of maladjustment among teachers and the impact of maladjusted teachers on their students, we cannot take any drastic action. Furthermore, prospective teachers should not conclude that one cannot have a normal personality in a teaching position. It may be more conducive to happiness and good personality adjustment than other comparable positions.

Questions for Discussion

1. How could a teacher's personality be changed by long tenure in his position?
2. Discuss the possibility that a distinct teacher personality type can be identified.
3. What other occupational groups are sometimes thought to be a little different or odd by some people?

[32] The teachers in Terrien's study married in lower proportion than the general population, later in life, and downward in the occupational scale. *Op. cit.*, p. 114.
[33] See Percival M. Symonds, "Personality Adjustment of Women Teachers," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* Vol. 11, 1941, pp. 14–20, for a discussion of this point.

4. If teachers are to be models for their pupils, is it relevant to question their acceptance by students in this role?
5. Compare the female dominance in the classroom with male or female dominance in the family and other social groups.
6. Why should teachers be recognized for "service to the community" outside the classroom?   Does such recognition affect their service in the school?

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11. Teacher Roles and Pupil Behavior

ALTHOUGH THE BEHAVIOR OF THE TEACHERS themselves is of vital interest to everyone concerned with education, the major significance of this behavior is its effect on the pupils. Since we view the teaching-learning process as a social one in which the behavior of the teacher is one factor, we must examine the response of the students to the teacher in the more significant school situations. Relatively little study has been devoted to this aspect of the educational process, but educators are coming to recognize it as the core of the learning situation. An examination of the responses of students to different types of teacher behavior is warranted. The following two chapters are devoted to an analysis of the school's contribution to the socialization of young people.

TYPES OF TEACHER RELATIONS

There are probably as many distinguishable features of teacher behavior in relation to students as there are teachers and situations in which they interact. However, we have already discussed, in Chapter 9, the construction of types of teacher roles in relation to students. We noted certain types which may be termed *authoritarian* and *friendly*. In the former the teachers have many of the behavior patterns which fit the stereotype of the teacher. The students are not permitted to get beyond a social barrier which the teachers maintain between themselves and the students. They give the orders and expect them to be followed. Students probably consider them unfriendly and do not want them to join in their recreation. They usually do not admire these teachers' personalities and

do not confide in them.   In brief, there is little cordial association between the students and the teachers.   The *friendly* teachers, on the other hand, have much sympathetic association with the pupils. The students consider them friendly, like to have them participate in their recreational activities, and often confide in them.

Such constructed types do not exist [1] in complete form in the behavior of any one teacher, but they are useful in analyzing the relationship between teachers and pupils.   The roles which teachers usually assume in their relations with the students approach one or the other of the types in varying degrees.   The responses of students to such roles of the teachers are a major factor in the effectiveness of teachers.   Some types of teacher role behavior may be more effective than others in obtaining certain desired outcomes of education.

Similar to the above classification of teacher roles, but constructed in a different way, is that of Anderson and his associates.[2] By repeated observation of elementary-school teachers and their pupils, Anderson arrived at a classification of the behavior of teachers as *dominative* or *integrative* in various degrees.   The dominative type of teacher makes decisions about the activities of the child and in a greater degree anticipates conformity.   In the more extreme forms, the teacher interferes with the child's behavior and generates conflict by judging the child adversely.   The integrative type of teacher, on the other hand, permits the child to decide whether or not he is interested in the activity suggested by the teacher.   In the more highly integrative classroom, the teacher and the child are jointly participating in an effort toward a common goal, and the child's relations with the teacher are not affected by mistakes.   The child is accepted as he is.

In many respects the behavior of these two kinds of teachers might be contrasted as "authoritarian" and "democratic."   When viewed in this way, they are similar to the authoritarian and friendly teachers described above.   Studies of these classifications provide some idea of pupils' responses to different types of teacher behavior in various situations.

[1] See Footnote 1 in Chapter 9, page 232.
[2] See Harold H. Anderson, Helen M. Brewer, Joseph E. Brewer, and Mary F. Reed, *Studies of Teachers' Classroom Personality, I, II, III.*   Three Applied Psychology Monographs of the American Psychological Association, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1945, 1946.

PUPILS' RESPONSES TO TEACHERS' ROLES IN THE SCHOOL

If the educational process is to be understood and made effective in the lives of young people, the effects of the teachers' behavior on their conduct, indeed on the whole network of personalities which makes up our schools, must be learned.   Only a limited amount of evidence is available in this significant area of interpersonal relations, but some indication of the types of teacher behavior which elicit favorable and unfavorable verbal expressions from the students can be given.   These include the type of teacher behavior associated with high and low pupil-ratings of teacher ability.

Pupils' expressed reactions to teachers.   The verbal reactions of students to the behavior of teachers have been the subject of several investigations.   One of the most interesting was that done by Hart,[3] who asked ten thousand high-school seniors to think of the teacher they had liked best and to tell why they liked this teacher best. The most frequently mentioned reasons were "human, friendly, companionable, one of us."   The others most frequently mentioned included "helpful with school work," cheerful, happy, good-natured, jolly, "has a sense of humor," "can take a joke."   All of these seem likely to be associated with the friendly, congenial type of teacher role.   This group of high-school seniors said that they liked best the teachers who behaved in these ways.   Furthermore, 80 per cent of these students said that the teacher whom they liked best was the one whom they would rate as the best teacher.

In another study of teachers' relations with students, similar results were obtained by different methods.[4]   The pupils of sixty-six male high-school history teachers were asked to rate them in teaching ability, and to indicate the type of behavior of the teachers with the students.   In this group of teachers, those who were more friendly, who most frequently joined in the recreational activities, whom the students liked to have join in such activities, in whom they frequently confided, whom they admired personally, and who were helpful to the students in their work were rated significantly more favorably by the pupils.   In this same group those teachers who fre-

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[3] Frank Hart, *Teachers and Teaching, by 10,000 High-School Seniors,* New York: Macmillan, 1934.

[4] W. B. Brookover, "The Relation of Social Factors to Teaching Ability," *Journal of Experimental Education,* Vol. 83, 1945, pp. 191–205.

quently scolded or used sarcasm when speaking to the students, and those whom the pupils considered very peculiar or "sissies" were rated significantly less favorably.

Stimulated by the work of Hart, the author constructed a scale designed to measure the degree of friendly person-to-person interaction occurring between the teacher and pupil.[5]   This scale was used in a study of the relationship between the pupils' ratings of teaching ability and the degree of personal interaction with pupils of thirty-seven high-school teachers.   The teachers who rated high on the person-to-person interaction scale were also given high ratings by the students on the scale for evaluating teaching.   The correlation of the mean scores on the two scales was .64.

RATING SCALE FOR
PERSON–TO–PERSON INTERACTION
AS APPLIED TO TEACHER–
PUPIL RELATIONSHIPS[6]

EXPLANATION: Below you will find nine statements to be completed by checking one of five possible completions.   You are asked to check the one completion for each statement that most nearly describes your relationship with the teacher indicated.   This information will in no way affect your grade or the teacher's attitude toward you, for you do not sign your *name*.   This is in no way a test of your ability.   Please be as accurate as you can. Check only one completion for each of the nine statements. Check the completion that most nearly indicates your relationship with this teacher.   Read each statement carefully.

EXAMPLE OF HOW TO CHECK

0. In my association with this teacher,
   - a. I have come to hate him.
   - √ b. I get along with him O.K.
   - c. He is perfect.
   - d. He is all right.
   - e. I would rather not be around him.

[5] See W. B. Brookover, "Person-to-Person Interaction Between Teachers and Pupils and Teaching Effectiveness," *Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. 34, 1940, pp. 272–287.

[6] Adapted, with editorial changes, from W. B. Brookover, "Person-to-Person Interaction Between Teachers and Pupils and Teaching Effectiveness," *Journal of Educational Research,* Vol. 34, 1940, pp. 272–287.   Reprinted by permission.

1. When speaking *about* this teacher to my close friends and schoolmates, I speak of him by
   a. *Pleasantly* using the first name or a pleasing nickname.
   b. *Indifferently* using the last name with Mister, such as Mr. Jones.
   c. *Pleasantly* using the last name alone.
   d. An *unpleasant* nickname such as old man so-and-so.
   e. *Unpleasantly* using the last name alone.

2. When I have a personal problem to solve, I
   a. Do not go to this teacher because he wouldn't understand.
   b. *Often* go to this teacher for advice.
   c. Would be undecided whether or not to go to him for advice.
   d. Do not go to him because he would make fun of or ridicule me.
   e. *Occasionally* go to this teacher for advice.

3. In my relations with the teacher, I
   a. Am afraid to talk to him, so I never do.
   b. *Occasionally* have friendly chats with him.
   c. Feel uncomfortable when talking to him.
   d. *Often* have friendly chats with him.
   e. Talk to him only when convenient or necessary.

4. When in the presence of this teacher, I
   a. Find his company neither pleasant nor unpleasant.
   b. Always feel at ease and enjoy his company.
   c. Am ill at ease, uncomfortable, or afraid.
   d. Usually enjoy his company.
   e. Am frequently irritated by his company.

5. When I meet this teacher on the street, he
   a. Is *usually* friendly.
   b. Speaks only when it is necessary.
   c. Speaks casually.
   d. "High-hats" me.
   e. Is *always* friendly.

6. My relationship with this teacher has caused me to
   a. Want to be like him.
   b. Sometimes try to imitate him in dress, manner, or other traits.

    c. Be indifferent toward him.

    d. *Occasionally* mock, or ridicule him.

    e. *Often* mock, or ridicule him.

7. When I am in his presence, this teacher
   a. Makes me feel that I am on a *much* lower social plane than he is.
   b. Makes me feel that I am on a *slightly* lower social plane than he is.
   c. Accepts me on an equal social plane and associates with me freely.
   d. *Tries* to accept me as an equal, but does not always do so.
   e. Accepts me as an equal, but does not associate with me freely.

8. When speaking *to* this teacher *outside* of *school,* I
   a. *Always* use his first name, last name, or a pleasant nickname as I do with my companions or pals.
   b. Use Mister, as Mr. Jones, in a friendly, informal manner.
   c. *Often* use his first name, last name, or a pleasant nickname as I do with my companions or pals.
   d. Use Mister, as Mr. Jones, in a formal, businesslike manner.
   e. Use Mister, as Mr. Jones, because I would be afraid to speak to him any other way.

9. In my relations with this teacher, I find him
   a. Moderately congenial and sympathetic.
   b. *Seldom* congenial and sympathetic.
   c. *Never* congenial and sympathetic.
   d. *Usually* congenial and sympathetic.
   e. *Always* congenial and sympathetic.

Hart [7] also found that the teachers whom the students liked least were described by similar terms. They mentioned these reasons: too cross, grouchy, crabby, "never smiles," nagging, sarcastic, "flies off the handle," "not helpful with school work," superior, aloof, snooty, "does not know you out of class," partial, and "has pets." Teachers whose behavior is described in these terms were neither liked nor rated highly as teachers. Hart did not find any of these least-liked teachers classified as the best teachers the seniors had studied under. Neither of my studies of high-school teachers

[7] Hart, *op. cit.,* passim.

indicated that such behavior elicited favorable responses or ratings from the students.

The contrast between the teacher behavior which high-school students like and rate highly and that which they dislike and to which they assign low ratings is sharply displayed in these studies. They like the teacher who is pleasant, friendly, and helpful, who participates in their activities in a companionable manner, and who seems to enjoy associating with them. They do not like the teachers who behave in the contrasting patterns of "seldom friendly, pleasant, or helpful" in their relationships, or those who are not companionable with the students. The students' ideas of good teaching behavior is closely related to their personal reactions to the teacher's behavior. If these studies are at all valid, an investigator would usually get about the same response to the question "Do you like this teacher?" as he would to "Do you think this person is a good teacher?" Both questions are answered by the high-school student largely in terms of the pleasantness or unpleasantness of his association with the teacher.

It is evident that high-school students express favorable responses toward those teachers whose attitude is friendly. Although the types of behavior resulting in unfavorable student expressions are not of the clearly authoritarian pattern, they are more likely to be associated with this type of role than with the friendly one.

Pupils' achievement in relation to teachers' behavior. In addition to considering the personal reaction of the students to the behavior of the teachers, the effect, if any, of the patterns of teacher-pupil interaction on the learning of the child must also be given attention. The rating which administrators, supervisors, and students give the teacher is frequently assumed a valid measure of the effectiveness of the teacher in conveying the desired knowledge, attitudes, or appreciation. There is increasing evidence that such ratings have little correlation with objective measures of pupil changes.[8]

In view of this it is vitally important for educators to know the impact of varying teacher-pupil relationships on pupils' learning. The study referred to above [9] provides some evidence in this area.

[8] See A. S. Barr *et al.,* "The Measurement of Teaching Ability," *The Journal of Experimental Education,* Vol. 14, 1945.

[9] Brookover, "The Relation of Social Factors to Teaching Ability," *op. cit.*

It is based on the relations of sixty-six male high-school teachers to their students in United States history in North Central Indiana rural schools and the gains of these students in knowledge of history over a period of seventy days.   Information concerning the teacher-pupil relations was obtained by a questionnaire to which the students responded in the absence of the teacher.   The gains in knowledge of history were based on the differences in pre-test and post-test scores on two forms of an objective test prepared for the semester examination in the course.

On the questionnaire the pupils were asked to respond to such questions as: "Is this teacher friendly to you when you meet him?" "Does this teacher join in your recreational activities?" "Do you like to have this teacher join in your social and recreational activities?" "Is this teacher helpful to you in your work?" "Do you confide in this teacher and tell him your troubles?" "Do you think that this teacher is fair?" and "Do you admire this teacher personally?"   The results of the tests of relation between the answers to these questions and the mean gains in history information are indicated in Table XX on page 300.

The relationship was tested by the chi-square technique, which makes it possible to determine the probability that a given distribution would occur by chance, and the coefficient of contingency (c), which indicates the amount of correlation, if any.   There is a significant negative relationship between each of these indexes of teacher-pupil relations and the mean gains in knowledge of history among the pupils of the sixty-six teachers.   The amount of correlation in each case is low, but the fact that each would occur less than five times in a hundred by chance gives some support to the hypothesis that the nature of the personal relations between teachers and pupils is related to the learning of the students.   Favorable responses to each of these questions seem indicative of a personal relationship within which the interaction is relatively free and democratic.   Therefore, we may infer that, among this group of male teachers of United States history in the eleventh grade, those who have the more congenial or friendly relationships with their students tend to be less effective teachers of information.

The results of this study are far from conclusive for the wide variety of educational situations.   They do raise serious questions, however, about the significance of studies which show that friendly

teachers are rated as superior by their students.   Such relationship can easily exist, for present evidence indicates that the correlation between subjective ratings of teaching ability and objective measures

T A B L E   X X .   **Relationship between teacher-pupil relations as determined by the responses of 1,275 students to seven questions and the teaching ability of sixty-six teachers as determined by pupils' mean gains in information.**[10]

Questions concerning teacher-pupil relations	RELATIONSHIP WITH MEAN GAINS IN INFORMATION		
	Probability *	**Coefficient of contingency †**	**Direction**
Is this teacher friendly to you?	.01	.195	Negative
Does this teacher join in your recreation?	.01	.187	Negative
Do you like to have this teacher participate in recreation?	.01	.23	Negative
Is this teacher helpful to you?	.01	.167	Negative
Do you confide in this teacher?	.05	.135	Negative
Do you think this teacher is fair?	.01	.165	Negative
Do you admire this teacher personally?	.01	.158	Negative

* Probability that the distribution between responses and gains in history information would occur by chance as determined by the chi-square test. Probability of .05 or less is accepted as indicating a significant relationship or one that is not likely to occur by chance.
† Measure of degree of relationship based on chi-square. The coefficient (c) varies from .00 to nearly 1.00.

of pupil gains is small.[11]   Apparently the students like the friendly teachers better, but they learn more when taught by the more authoritarian ones.

Overt student behavior in relation to teacher behavior.   We have thus far examined the nature of the verbal responses and the learning level of students in interaction with teachers who take differing roles in relation to them.   These aspects of student behavior may have little correlation with other types of overt behavior.   Certainly the relations with the teacher are by no means exclusively important

[10] *Ibid.,* and W. B. Brookover, "The Social Roles of Teachers and Pupil Achievement," *American Sociological Review,* 1943, Vol. 8, p. 391.   Reprinted by permission.
[11] See Brookover, "The Relation of Social Factors To Teaching Ability," *op. cit.,* and Barr, *et al., op. cit.*

in the emergence of any type of student behavior, but some specific aspects of student behavior may be related to the teacher. It is possible that the roles which the child develops in this situation may affect his behavior in other subordinate positions.

The behavior of students in relation to their teachers must be carefully observed in an objective and verifiable manner. Previous discussions concerned the behavior most convenient for the teacher rather than that which the school develops in the children. Since a major function of the school is to engender certain patterns of conduct in the pupils, we should know something of the observable overt behavior of the child in response to the teacher. We will examine the general impact of the school and teacher models on the socialization of youth in Chapters 12 and 13. At this point we note the students' responses to particular types of teachers.

After a series of observations of elementary-school teachers of various grade levels, Anderson and his associates [12] classified teacher behavior in relation to the students. Records of teacher behavior were made by independent observers and were classified in five categories with a high degree of reliability: (1) Domination with evidence of conflict; (2) Domination with no evidence of conflict; (3) Domination with evidence of working together; (4) Integration with no evidence of working together; and (5) Integration with evidence of working together. The first three are principally dominative; in these the teacher makes decisions concerning the child without the child's participation in the decision-making process. The two categories of integrative behavior may be characterized by the teacher's consideration of the child's wishes and interests. To some extent the teacher also encourages and permits the child to participate in the decision.

In a similar fashion the children's behavior in these elementary groups was recorded and classified in a series of operationally defined categories. Some of these included direct responses to the teacher. Others involved repeatedly observed classroom behavior which implicitly concerned teacher-pupil interaction.

The first category is *nervous habits*. This includes putting fingers in the mouth, sucking on the fingers, pulling strands of hair, and other similar habits. The second is the practice of looking up from reading or other work without evidence that the looking up

[12] Harold H. Anderson, *et al., op. cit.*

has any relation to the work. This was known simply as *looking up*. The next category results from the observation that children frequently leave their seats without any apparent demand, request, or permission to do so. This behavior was classified as *leaves seat*. Another type — *playing with foreign objects* — refers to the practice of playing with toys or other objects during work periods. *Undetermined child-child verbal contacts* was another category of student behavior. Of a somewhat different character were two classifications which involved the students response to the teacher's dominative behavior. These were *conforming* and *nonconforming to teacher domination*.

When a child took the role of domination over another child, either by demands for material, direction of behavior, or an attack on the status of the other, the behavior was recorded as child *domination of other children*. *Response in recitation* was either a volunteer response or response to teacher request. Activities of the children in *problem solving* included asking for help, announcing an individual problem, planning an experiment toward the solution of a problem, and contributing to the solution of his own or another's problem. The *social contribution by the child* had six subdivisions, in each of which distinction was made if the contribution were initiated by the child or if it were in response to others. These were: telling experiences, bringing something to school, suggestions, an offer of services, holding up hand, and expressions of appreciation.

In a study of two second-grade groups, one teacher was found to be considerably more dominant and less integrative in her behavior toward the children in both her individual and group contacts than the other teacher. The students of this teacher exhibited significantly greater frequencies of the following behavior: (1) looking up, (2) undetermined child-child verbal contacts, (3) playing with foreign objects, (4) conforming to teacher domination, and (5) not conforming to teacher domination. Students of the more dominative teacher were also less frequently observed (1) making voluntary suggestions, (2) voluntarily indicating that they wished to do something or say something, (3) voluntarily expressing appreciation, (4) making voluntary social contributions, (5) telling experiences or making suggestions in response to the teacher's open invitation or question, (6) indicating by hand that they wished to do something in response to the teacher's invitation

or question, and (7) making fewer total social contributions, including those in response to the teacher's invitation or question.[13]

These data show that the voluntary, spontaneous contributions of the children, as well as their responses to the teacher's invitation, were more frequent among the students taught by the more integrative teacher. This was also observed in the children's contribution to their own problem solving. Teachers who showed "evidence of working together" had more students who contributed to the solution of their own problems.[14] On the other hand, behavior that showed little purpose or made no contribution to the task at hand, such as looking up and playing with foreign objects, was much more frequent among the children of the dominative teacher. The integrative teacher apparently ignored such activities. The objection of dominative teachers failed to prevent such behavior.

In a similar fashion the dominative teacher failed to obtain conformity. The frequency of nonconforming behavior was four times as great among the children of this teacher. The domination either produced nonconformity or at least failed to prevent it; attempts at integrative behavior failed to change the sequence of domination and resistance.[15] In contrast to the positive correlation between contacts and nonconformity in the case of the more dominative teacher, there was a negative correlation between the same two factors in the interaction between the more integrative teacher and her pupils.

Although teacher domination failed to produce conformity in the children, it apparently led to domination of other children. The pupils of the more assertive teacher were more likely to try to overrule other children. Those particular children most dominated by the teacher tended to exert authority over other children most frequently.[16]

In a study of the classrooms of these same teachers and the same pupils with new teachers the following year, the hypothesis that the behavior of the teachers induces the children to behave in certain patterns was partially verified. The more dominative teacher was also more dominative with a new group; the more integrative teacher was the same with the new students. Furthermore, the new children with the more dominative teacher showed lower fre-

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[13] Anderson *et al.*, *op. cit.*, **II**, pp. 85–86.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 81–82.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 86–87.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

quencies in ten categories of behavior representing social contribution to others.[17]

As one looks at the studies made by Anderson and his associates, some general hypotheses seem to emerge: (1) the teachers whose classroom behavior is commonly dominative are more likely to have students respond with unco-operative behavior; (2) such teachers also lead the children to assume roles of domination in their relations to other children; (3) teachers whose behavior in relation to their pupils is predominantly of the integrative (co-operative) type more frequently evoke co-operative behavior as seen in the voluntary contributions to the task at hand; such teachers also lead the children to take a co-operative role in relation to other children.

Although such theoretical orientation is lacking in the Anderson reports, the results of his observations support the theory of human behavior presented in Chapter 1. In the interaction process the children apparently take the role of the teacher and behave toward others as the teacher behaves toward them.

The teacher's domination may be interpreted by the child as a failure to consider others' wishes in a social situation. When interacting with the teacher, the child likewise behaves without regard to the teacher's wishes. In this case, the child disregards the teacher's desire for conformity. In interaction with other children, similar roles of domination come to be the established habits. The teacher whose behavior is of the more integrative sort is imitated by the children with similar role-taking patterns. When the teacher considers the child's desires and wishes in the interactive situation and helps the child to solve his problems, the child may learn to assume the role of the teacher and behave as he thinks the teacher expects. This expectation of the teacher would include suggestions and contributions to the solution of the pupil's own and others' problems.

It is difficult to translate the results of my investigation of pupil achievement in relation to teachers' roles to the terms used by Anderson. The authoritarian teacher appears to be more likely to induce resistance or nonconformity. The situation in the high school may be quite different from that in the elementary school, although it seems likely that resistance and nonconformity are pres-

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[17] Harold Anderson, *et al., Studies of Teachers' Classroom Personalities, III, op. cit.,* pp. 98–100.

sent at this level also.   As we noted in Chapter 9, the traditional relationship is one of struggle — or at least restricted co-operation — in which the teacher must maintain the dominant role if the interaction is to continue in an orderly fashion.   High-school students are accustomed to this situation and expect the teachers to force them to learn.   If this domination is not present to a considerable degree, the student may react on the assumption that learning is not expected or not necessary.   With the student behaving in traditional ways, the customary role of the dominative teacher may possibly stimulate more learning.   No information on the changes in knowledge among the children in the elementary grades studied by Anderson is reported.   There is some evidence, however, that the more dominative teachers were more effective in teaching information on this level also.[18]

From the limited data available we cannot make valid generalizations concerning the response of students to the various roles of the teacher in the classroom.   These data suggest, however, that domination is likely to produce domination, resistance, and nonconformity.   A variety of apparently ineffectual nervous habits may grow out of the tension of the situation.   Friendly, helpful, or "integrative" behavior in the teacher is more likely to result in student co-operation and spontaneous participation in the activities of the group and the work at hand.[19]   Teachers who adopt this method will probably be well liked by their students, but they may not be effective as teachers of information in our traditional school system.

Teacher-pupil relations and pupil adjustment.   The implications of the different types of teacher-pupil relations for the socialization of the child may be interpreted at this point.   Almost *a priori,* Anderson asserts that voluntary social contributions, problem-solving behavior, expressions of spontaneity, and initiative are desirable in a democratic society, and that domination and high frequencies of either conforming or nonconforming behavior are undesirable.[20]   If these assumptions are accepted, it follows that the teaching of dominative teachers is more likely to result in student behavior unacceptable in a democratic society.   When these assumptions are

[18] Personal conversation with Dr. Anderson.
[19] See p. 148 for Epley's findings on positive orientation toward teachers.
[20] Anderson, *et al., op. cit.,* II, p. 42.

viewed in the light of the capitalistic emphasis on competition, and the persistence of many authoritarian patterns in our society, however, the answer is not so clear. This does not mean there is no relation between voluntary co-operation or spontaneity and the democratic ideal, but that these modes of conduct may not be the most conducive to adjustment in our present society. However, the apparent effectiveness of the authoritarian teacher in imparting historical information at the high-school level may result from the students' extensive experience in such classrooms by the time he reaches this age. The type of teacher behavior most effective in stimulating academic learning may, at the same time, be destructive of satisfactory personality adjustment and of more democratic behavior.

TEACHERS' COMMUNITY ROLES AND PUPILS' RESPONSES

The teacher's function in the community has been the subject of much discussion and speculation, but little is known of the response of the students to teacher participation in the community. One assumption underlying much of this discussion is that the nature of the teacher's community roles affects the quality of teaching. Greenhoe expressed her belief in a positive effect, as follows:

> From the writer's personal standpoint, teachers should be encouraged to participate in community affairs far more than they are now inclined to do. This would undoubtedly improve their teaching, for it would familiarize them with the problems of real concern in the community, and would acquaint them with the atmosphere in which the pupils live. Likewise such participation would do much toward changing the general conception of teachers as academic and impractical persons who dwell apart from the world of men. The danger of such participation lies in the drain it might make upon teacher time and energy leading, possibly, to neglect of classroom teaching. This could be guarded against both by the teacher and her supervisors, including the school principal. Teachers who have an interest in community work and some competency at it should be encouraged to participate in worthwhile out-of-school movements, and rearrangements in teaching schedule should be made to facilitate such participation.[21]

[21] Florence Greenhoe, *Community Contacts and Participation of Teachers,* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941, pp. 73–74. Reprinted by permission of the author.

In contrast to this thesis that community participation would be good, Greenhoe's study points out that teachers are either not encouraged to participate or are prevented from participating in many community activities. In other words, although educators and laymen believe that teachers should take a part in community affairs, these same people justify all sorts of restrictions on their participation on the basis that it will interfere with the teachers' effectiveness. Occasionally, teachers are employed or denied employment, particularly when positions are scarce, on the bases of acquaintance with, and understanding of, the community, and the interest that they display by their service in community activities. We saw in Chapter 9, however, that the role of the teacher in community groups is circumscribed. Since the major function of the school and the teacher is training youth, the crucial test of policy should be the effect of the teachers' various community roles on the behavior of children and youth.

Teachers' community roles and pupils' expressed reactions. One significant fact already noted is that a teacher is expected to be in the community, but not a part of it. That is, the people of the community interact with the teachers but never quite include them in the "we group." Of course, the degree of participation of the teacher in the community varies considerably in terms of length of residence in the community and the extent to which he takes part in the activities of the group. Some evidence of the verbal reactions of high-school students to teachers in sixty-five Indiana rural communities in relation to the teachers' community roles can be seen in Table XXI on page 308. This shows the relation between student ratings of teaching ability and certain indexes of the teachers' roles.[22]

The students' rating of teachers on a scale of very superior, superior, average, below average, and poor as used here is not directly indicative of their personal response to the teacher. The high correlation between these ratings and the extent to which the students liked to have the teacher participate in their recreational activities does indicate that such ratings are a fair index of the student's personal reactions to the teacher. There is no significant relationship between the teacher's previous residence in the community or the fre-

[22] See W. B. Brookover, "The Relation of Social Factors to Teaching Ability," *op. cit.*, pp. 203–204.

quency of church attendance in the community and the favorableness or unfavorableness of the students' ratings of the teacher. Both these factors have frequently had much influence on the employment of teachers in rural areas such as those included in this study, but

TABLE XXI. **Relationship between sixty-six teachers' roles in the community and 1,270 pupils' ratings of their teaching ability.**[23]

Indexes of the teachers' roles in the community	RELATION OF INDEX TO PUPILS' RATING OF TEACHING ABILITY		
	Probability *	$\overline{C}$ †	Direction of relationship
Teacher's previous residence in the community	.85		None indicated
Frequency of the teacher's church attendance in the community	.40		None indicated
Frequency of the teacher's participation in other (nonchurch) community activities	.03		Negative
Proportion of patrons known by the teacher	.01	.22	Positive
Frequency with which teacher feels unappreciated by community	.01	.20	Negative
Pupils' ratings of the teacher as "peculiar"	.01	.34	Negative

* Probability that the distribution between responses and pupil ratings would occur by chance as determined by the chi-square test. Probability of .05 or less is accepted as indicating a significant relationship.
† Coefficient of contingency, corrected for small number of cells. This is a measure of the degree of relationship based on chi-square.

the high-school students' reactions to the quality of teaching are apparently unaffected by them.

In interviews the teachers were asked to indicate the proportion of the patrons with whom they were acquainted. These data indicate that teachers who knew more of the patrons and therefore were better acquainted with the students were rated more highly by those students. If the extent of acquaintance with school patrons is an index of the teacher's identification with the community, the coefficient of contingency of .22 indicates a slight relationship be-

[23] W. B. Brookover, "The Relation of Social Factors to Teaching Ability," *Journal of Experimental Education,* Vol. 83, 1945, pp. 203–204. Reprinted by permission.

tween the students' rating of the teachers and their community identification.   On the other hand, we note about the same negative relationship between the ratings and the teachers' participation in nonchurch activities.   These activities include such things as the Farm Bureau, lodges, service clubs, political parties, and other rural community organizations.   This slight negative relationship may be a reflection of the rather common culture pattern that teachers should not participate in such organizations, although they are actually expected to live in the community.

Teachers' community roles and pupil achievement.   A more critical test of the hypothesis that the community roles of the teacher are significant factors in determining the pupils' development within the school, is the objective measurement of changes in information, attitudes, or other aspects of the child's behavior while interacting with teachers who assume various community roles.   The mean gains in knowledge of American history among the students of the sixty-six teachers reported previously were compared with the indexes of the teachers' community roles listed in Table XXI.[24]   In no case was there a significant relationship, either positive or negative, between mean gains in history information and an index of the teachers' participation in the community.   Only the frequency of the teacher's participation in other than church activities approached a significant relationship with the pupils' gains in information.   In this case the teachers in this group who never participated in such activities were more likely to have their students make average gains in information, while those who did participate tended to get either superior or below average student gains in about equal proportion.

From these analyses, there is no basis for any generalizations about the impact of the teacher's community roles on the learning of the children.   Although the observations made by Greenhoe (see page 306) seem plausible, there is no objective evidence to support them.   We cannot conclude that there is no such relationship, but it remains to be demonstrated.   The very limited evidence available fails to do this.   Employers of teachers are less likely to use community roles as a basis for rating when teachers are scarce, but they are commonly cited as evidence of good teaching.

[24] *Ibid.,* pp. 108 and 110.

TEACHERS' OTHER ROLES IN THE SCHOOL AND PUPILS' RESPONSES

Just as the roles of teachers in the community may be thought of as important in determining the nature of the pupils' response to them, so the type of function the teacher performs in the school apart from the direct classroom teaching may be significant. We noted in Chapter 9 that administrators, coaches, music teachers, and some others have somewhat different roles in relation to other teachers, and to the community than do the usual classroom teachers. Subjective evaluations of the relative effectiveness of such teachers in the development of the students are constantly being made, but there is little real basis for such generalizations. We can do little more than state the hypotheses here and point out the possibility that some relationships may exist in this area.

Teachers' roles in the school and pupils' verbalized reactions. One might anticipate that the prestige and public recognition which teachers with special roles such as principal and director of extracurricular activities might receive would influence students to react more favorably to them than to other teachers. In contrast to this position, however, is a commonly expressed opinion that the other activities consume the major portion of the time and interest of these persons so that their effectiveness as teachers is decreased.

In the study reported above,[25] students rated those teachers who were also principals significantly higher as teachers than those who were not administrators. However, those teachers who supervised such extracurricular activities as athletics, public speaking, and musical organizations were rated less favorably than the teachers who did not have such roles. The prestige of the principals may have been such to encourage the students to give more favorable ratings, while the popular notion that coaches are poor academic teachers may have prevailed in these student ratings.

Teachers' roles in school and pupils' achievement. No such support for the hypothesis was provided by an analysis of the pupils' gains in knowledge of history. The gains in information among the pupils of teachers who assumed the various roles in the school were practically the same. The principals were no more or less

[25] *Ibid.,* p. 50.

effective than those who were not administrators. Neither were there any differences in gains by the students of those who coached or directed other activities.

Although these results are based on a very limited number of teachers in a particular type of school situation, they cause one to question many commonly expressed generalizations. Examination of the various roles of teachers in the school and of the changes in the children while interacting with them in a wide variety of situations is necessary before any position on this question can be supported.

SUMMARY

The response of the students to any type of teacher varies with a number of factors in the situation. Among these would be the size of the school, the nature of the community and its concept of the school, the age of the children, and the organization of the school groups. The data available are for only a limited number of school situations with most of the factors which might affect the nature of the pupil reactions controlled. It is, therefore, impossible at the present time to know the nature of responses for pupils of all age groups to the various types of teacher behavior.

From the evidence available, some guesses about the reaction of students to teachers with authoritarian or dominative, and friendly, integrative, or democratic patterns of behavior can be made. These data also raise other questions about student reactions that are of fundamental importance and which require more specific research for even tentative answers.

In the former categories it may be suggested that at the lower-grade levels, children respond to the authoritarian or dominative teacher with resistance and patterns of domination in relation to their peers. At the same level the children respond to the integrative, democratic teacher with initiative, spontaneous contributions, and co-operation. The secondary-school youth express unfavorable reactions to the authoritarian teacher, but learn more from him. The opposite is true of their reactions to the friendly, democratic teacher.

Several other questions are raised by the studies. Is the authoritarian teacher more effective in teaching all types of information and attitudes at all grade levels? Do students who have always

associated with integrative or democratic teachers achieve less than others, or can habits of learning be acquired in relation to such teachers as well as in relation to the authoritarian ones? Do students respond to the authoritarian teacher with higher levels of learning because of fear of the teacher or are such responses acquired elsewhere?

We have little knowledge of the nature of the behavior which interaction with our teachers is developing in the youth of America. Citizens in general have a persistent faith that mass education will prepare the youth to live in our society. We turn now to a discussion of the place of the school in the total socialization process.

Questions for Discussion

1. Discuss the relative merits of the authoritarian and the democratic school atmosphere as preparation for life.
2. How might authoritarian teachers of history in the eleventh grade be better as teachers of information than others (p. 299)? What are the implications and qualifications of these research findings?
3. What is the potential social value of voluntary suggestions and social contributions made by students in the classroom?
4. Account for the differences of bases of evaluation of teachers between students and the adult members of the community.
5. In your opinion, why is it that coaches, while high in general prestige, are thought by samples of students to be poor in academic teaching?

Suggestions for Further Reading

Anderson, Harold H., *et al., Studies of Teachers' Classroom Personality, I, II, III,* Three Applied Psychology Monographs of the American Psychology Association, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1945, 1946.

Brookover, W. B., "The Relation of Social Factors to Teaching Ability," *The Journal of Experimental Education,* Vol. 83, 1945, pp. 191–205.

——, "Teachers and the Stratification of American Society," *Harvard Educational Review,* Vol. 23, 1953, pp. 257–267.

12. Socialization and Personality Adjustment in the School: I. Social Climate

IN ITS BROADEST USAGE EDUCATION IS SYNON-
ymous with socialization. Both are concerned with the process of
teaching the new member of society how he is expected to behave
in various situations. We now consider the school's place in the
total process of learning to behave in a manner acceptable and ap-
propriate to the larger society. In broad terms this is what the
concept *socialization* actually means. Learning to read and to
write, or learning to understand the natural universe are not ex-
cluded from the socialization process, but they are not the primary
focus of attention. Much of the modern educational emphasis on
teaching the whole child is a recognition of the fact that learning to
read is inseparably related to the process of learning to live in our
complex society.

Learning to eat, to walk, to talk, to wear clothes are all primary
aspects of socialization in American society. Failure to achieve any
of these behavior patterns would be thought a major defect in social-
ization. Many other types of behavior are essential for a happy
life in a society. These must meet two general criteria: first, they
must satisfy the basic needs of the individual; and, second, they
must be within the range of behavior considered acceptable or nor-
mal in the particular society. The two criteria have a mutual rela-
tionship, so they cannot be distinguished in actual behavior. The
basic needs define, in part, the range of normal behavior, and the

concept of normal behavior modifies the basic needs of the individual. Eating grasshoppers is not acceptable in America, although it might satisfy the need for food. In order to perpetuate life, the society must provide some acceptable means of meeting the need for food. So it is with many other areas of behavior in this and every society. The socialized individual is one who has learned to behave in ways expected in his society.

In accord with our discussion in Chapter 1, we recognize that socialization is achieved through a process of communication with other members of the society. The expected patterns of behavior are constantly communicated to the child in all the situations in which he participates. By identifying with or taking the role of the other persons, the child comes to see himself as others see him. In other words, he acquires a self-image. As he internalizes the expected definitions of behavior, he is able to control his own behavior in terms of his concept of this expected behavior. He is thus able to adjust his behavior to the self-image which he has acquired in the role-taking process.[1]

There are many points at which difficulties may arise in the process of socialization. Among these are failure in communication so that the child does not acquire an understanding of the social-cultural expectations. This may be due to inadequate knowledge of the symbols used, to inadequate skill in role-taking, or to numerous other related factors. The society may be so segmental that it is difficult to achieve an understanding of the expected behavior in the multitude of situations in which the person participates. There may also be discrepancies and conflicts in the models of behavior or the definitions of expected behavior, so that it is difficult for the individual to arrive at a definite image of behavior in many situations. From our point of view, the failure to achieve an integrated set of behavior patterns which are satisfying to the person himself and acceptable to society represents a state of maladjustment. When examined in the light of the social norms, this might be termed social maladjustment; when oriented to the individual, it might be considered personality maladjustment or personality dis-

[1] More elaborate discussion of socialization and the development of the self is not appropriate here, for our purpose is simply to indicate the general interactional framework within which we discuss the place of the school situation. An excellent analysis of the process will be found in Kimball Young, *Personality Problems of Adjustment*, 2nd ed., New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1952, pp. 123–127 and 153–189.

order. In either case the person, for one reason or another, does not behave as he is expected to in some social roles.[2]

The degree of personality maladjustment or disorders may vary from simple errors in the assessment of particular situations, such as everyone makes, to his own embarrassment, to the chronic and lifelong disability of many schizophrenics. It is impossible to determine the exact proportion of the population which, to some degree, exhibits deviant behavior. Accepted or normal behavior blends into maladjusted or deviant behavior in such varying and imperceptible ways that we could not agree on the identification of either. In recent years, particularly since World War II, America has become more concerned about the waste, cost, and tragedy in human lives, which the maladjusted represent. Although the number of hospital beds available to psychotic patients has increased greatly, it remains inadequate. Variations in the norms used make it impossible to determine the number or proportion of neurotics in the population. The high proportion of rejection and discharge from the military services for neuropsychiatric reasons and other evidences of maladjustment in modern society have led many to ask the cause. To some extent the school may set the stage for some of these difficulties.

Our primary concern is with the function of the school in relation to socialization and personality adjustment. However, we must first recognize that the school is only one — though an important one — segment of the society within which so many find it difficult to arrive at a satisfying and acceptable mode of behavior. As many competent observers have noted, our society is one which places great stress on the persons living in it. It is not our purpose to analyze this in detail except for the school, but we wish to mention two related characteristics of the society.[3]

In the latter portion of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, American society changed from predominantly rural to predominantly urban-industrial. In the former, the individual was part of a closely-knit and highly personalized kinship and

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[2] See Norman Cameron, *The Psychology of Behavior Disorder,* Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1947, pp. 81–102, for a penetrating discussion of behavior disorders from the point of view of role taking.

[3] Several recent studies have been concerned with the analysis of the types of character structure in American society. Perhaps the most penetrating of these are David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd,* and *Faces in the Crowd,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950, 1952.

neighborhood network of relationships.   Most of his associations were in such groups, and the values and norms were clearly defined and understood by all.   Unless the individual moved from one section of the country to another, he could direct his behavior in almost every situation in terms of these clearly understood roles.   Even when he moved to a new community, he needed to learn only slightly different norms which again defined nearly all of his behavior.

In contrast, most Americans now live in a highly segmental society.   The residents of a modern industrialized community are continually on the move from home to factory or office, to club or union hall, and later to a recreational group.   Each involves a different set of relationships with a varying set of norms and expectations.   Sometimes the person is called upon to perform in roles with incompatible or conflicting expectations.   The shop foreman's position illustrates the difficulty of meeting several role expectations at the same time.   Management expects him to behave in such a way that maximum production is achieved in his department.   The union expects him to supervise the shop without detriment to the union's security or the interests of the members.   Because of his personal relations with the workers, all sorts of personal expectations are present.   In addition, the foreman is a member of a family, a recreation group, a church, and perhaps several other groups which have different norms of behavior.[4]   The demands of career and home which many American women try to meet are also contradictory.[5]

In calling attention to the changing American scene, it is not our purpose to assert that the earlier rural society was more desirable for personal adjustment, although many social scientists have assumed this to be true.   It is more important to recognize that the norms once appropriate are no longer so.   The well-adjusted person today is expected to behave quite differently; he also has to deal with a greater variety of situations.   New ways of socialization, however, may make satisfactory adjustment in our segmented society as feasible as was adjustment in the earlier unified and personal

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[4] See Delbert Miller and William Form, *Industrial Sociology*, New York: Harper & Bros., 1951, pp. 208–217, for a discussion of the roles of the foreman.
[5] Richard Dewey and Wilbur Humber, *Development of Human Behavior*, New York: Macmillan, 1951.

system.   Modern urban culture may have resources by means of which the stress of incompatible roles can be overcome and satisfying personal adjustment achieved.   Many persons live out their lives in such communities without serious strain or disturbance.

It is the purpose of this and the following chapter to examine the school system in its socializing function.   In what ways may the school contribute to the solution of the difficulties of adjustment? What resources may it provide to help achieve satisfying and acceptable behavior which will enable the youth to function in his numerous positions and roles?   To do this we will first look at the general social climate of the school and examine the values and norms which are common in it, the nature of the leadership patterns, and the general nature of the relationships involved.   Next we examine the types of models the school presents to the youth with regard to their providing resources for adjustment.   And last we investigate some of the specific role expectations in the school.

This is not the usual approach to the school and the socialization process.   There is extensive literature on the school and mental hygiene which is tangential to this more general problem.   This material is generally collected and interpreted from the point of view of clinical psychology.   We are not, however, primarily interested in the etiology of individual cases of childhood maladjustment. Rather we are concerned with the relation of the total school social situation to the child's achievement of acceptable and satisfying behavior.   Unfortunately, there is, at present, very limited research basis for our analysis.   Many of our observations must be recognized as only tentative hypotheses.   Many of these are based on ideal-typical constructs of the nature of the social climate of the school, of its models, and of its social roles.   As pure constructs, they do not exist in any actual school situation.   It is our opinion, however, that this approach is fruitful in isolating salient factors in the socialization function of the school, and in offering suggestions for research.

SOCIAL CLIMATE OF THE SCHOOL

Much of what has been written in earlier chapters of this book is appropriate for reconsideration here.   We shall recall some of the things said previously about the school in American culture and

the culture of the school itself, but with especial attention to the school's impact on the socialization of the young people who participate in it.

Value orientation of the school.   American schools reflect the values of the dominant groups in the communities which they serve. For this reason values vary from one school to another.   Still, the homogeneous social origin and training of most teachers probably tend to reduce the range of variation.   Furthermore, the primary or core values of the school culture are fairly well diffused throughout society.   This assumption of diffiusion is supported by data from public opinion polls reported in Chapter 3, which indicate only slight sectional and class differences in the expectations which Americans have of the school.   It seems feasible, therefore, to construct a type of value orientation for American schools in general, while remaining fully aware that the actual school situations differ in varying degrees.

The early relationship between the church and the school has given a strong religious tone to the school's beliefs and values.   The church origin of much American education and the continued existence of parochial schools supported by the Roman Catholic and other churches provide a religious background to the educational program in general.   Although public schools were originally Protestant in orientation, there are few people in the school society who could distinguish sharply between the value orientations of various religious groups.   Exceptions to this are found in the cases of divergent religious groups such as the Amish, some Pentecostal sects, and some of the more conservative Fundamentalist groups. The values of the school are generally related to those of the dominant religious groups of the community.   The strictly religious values are not distinguishable from the more general moral codes of the community.

The values of the adolescents in one fairly typical community have been analyzed by Havighurst and Taba.[6]   Some excerpts from their analysis indicate the general orientation of the school to the dominant middle-class and dominant religious values of the community.

[6] Robert J. Havighurst and Hilda Taba, *Adolescent Character and Personality*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949, pp. 27–46.

The principal values of the adolescent peer culture in Prairie City are social participation, group loyalty, and individual achievement and responsibility. As a means of social participation, such social skills as dancing are desirable, as well as a supply of spending money and good clothes. Group loyalty takes the form principally of loyalty to the high school and its activities, but church youth groups and the informal cliques of the adolescent social world also command loyalty. Individual achievement and responsibility mean, for most young people, doing well in school, getting a part-time job, and being a responsible member of several clubs or other organizations.

The high school is the principal locus of the adolescent peer culture. School dances, athletic contests, hay rides, and club activities, as well as study halls and classrooms, are the places where boys and girls learn how to behave socially and morally as young men and women. . . . A recreation center was placed under the supervision of the high-school Student Council and became an adjunct of the school program.

The moral standards of the adolescent peer group culture are largely middle-class standards set by the high school, which is, in turn, run by people with middle-class values. The teachers are nearly all middle-class people and so are the parents who are most active in high school affairs. Finally, the dominant adolescent group in the high school is composed mainly of middle-class boys and girls.

During the period of these studies, the adolescent peer culture of Prairie City was dominated by one clique of girls, who formed themselves into a secret society. This clique was composed of girls from upper-middle-class families and the few upper-class girls in school, together with a few popular girls from lower-status families. These girls elected their candidates to school offices and also set the social pace. There was no comparable group among the boys. The leaders among the boys tended to co-operate with this group of girls. The teachers gave this girls' clique their tacit support, since it included the "best" girls in the school.

Thus the two most powerful groups in the school, the teachers and the leading clique among the adolescents, worked pretty much together in setting standards. Most of the students followed their lead. Only in the sphere of relations between boys and girls was there any considerable conflict between teachers and parents, on the one hand, and adolescents, on the other.

To achieve success in the adolescent peer culture, a boy or girl

must stay in school, be a reasonably good student, take part in school activities, and go to the school dances and parties. In the process of adjusting successfully to these ways, he would be learning middle-class morality. The majority of young people attempted to fit themselves into this situation.[7]

This analysis of the adolescent culture indicates the orientation of the high school to the values of the dominant middle class. The teachers are reported to support the middle-class parents and students, who define the values and sentiments considered right and proper in the Prairie City High School. The middle-class group would probably not be in as good a position to set the standards of the elementary-school society. At this level, all of the lower-status children, as well as those of higher classes, are in school. Teachers, parents, and other children accept their participation in the elementary school as just and proper. The elementary-school teachers are more likely to consider the social origin in evaluating the morality or immorality of the child's behavior. They are likely, however, to be middle class in their own value orientation and to consider it their duty to teach the students "proper" middle-class values. Since the values guiding the middle class are so important in the school, a description of those in Prairie City is given.

> The upper-middle class set great store by civic virtue. For them a man's duty to God is his duty to the community. They even let their responsibilities as parents be subordinated to their responsibilities as citizens, by giving to community affairs time which might otherwise be given to their children. They are great believers in education and in education as the solution of social problems. Their children are leaders in the high school, and nearly all go to college.
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> .   .   .   .   .
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> The values which the upper-middle class instill in their children are self-reliance, initiative, loyalty, good manners, and responsibility to the community. The vices against which they train their children are stealing and destruction of property, sexual immorality, bad manners, and carelessness in dress and speech.
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> In the upper-middle class, certain of the general moral virtues held as values by the entire community have taken on specific forms which differentiate them from the same moral virtues in other social

[7] Robert J. Havighurst and Hilda Taba, *Adolescent Character and Personality,* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949, pp. 35–36. Reprinted by permission.

classes. For example, honesty is accepted as a virtue by all classes, but in the upper-middle class it is a generalized virtue. One is expected to be honest toward all people; and honest in matters of property, of truth telling, and of keeping promises. In the lower class, honesty is limited to dealings within the family and within a small neighborhood group. The average lower-class person does not feel compelled to tell the truth to everybody, to be careful of the property of everyone, or to keep his promises to everyone.[8]

These typical values provide the base for the social system of the school. Here, too, the concern for property, proper sex conduct, good manners, neatness, and cleanliness, as well as initiative, self-reliance, and individual responsibility for one's behavior are emphasized as basic characteristics in the image of the good school-citizen. To some degree these are compatible with the values which children in other status groups learn at home. In other respects these children may find it difficult to adjust to values and beliefs different from the ones they have learned. Respect for school property, for example, has little meaning to them, for property to them is likely to be sacred only if it belongs to one of the immediate kinship or neighborhood group. Furthermore, property in books, desks, music, and related equipment is quite foreign to their experience. The dominant student groups, as well as parents and teachers, generally believe these lower-class pupils should have the opportunity to learn the "proper values" in the school. In this sense the school values are democratic. All children should have a chance to learn how to behave as the "good" people do and thus achieve a higher status. There is little compassion for students who fail to learn these values quickly. The high-school student should know these values and behave accordingly. Failure to do so makes participation in high-school life extremely difficult.

Havighurst and Taba have constructed typical values of the lower classes in Prairie City. These emphasize the significant differences in religion, sex codes, and educational values between this group and the dominant middle-class groups.

The lower-middle and upper-lower classes are very much alike in their values. They stress respectability, thrift, loyalty, responsibility to family, church, and fidelity in marriage. The church is

[8] Robert J. Havighurst and Hilda Taba, *Adolescent Character and Personality,* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949, pp. 31–32. Reprinted by permission.

important in the lives of these people. It is for them what the community is for the upper-middle class. . . . The lower-class members of a church tend to other-worldliness — the belief that they will be rewarded in the next life for good works and sacrifice and suffering in this life.

Education has different value for this group than it has for the upper-middle class. The majority accept school simply as a means of getting the children ready for adulthood. Education for them is necessary for individual vocational success. The socially mobile minority of this group . . . look on college as a means for getting their children ahead in the world, but the majority think of high-school graduation as the highest educational goal.

The lower-lower class are thought to be immoral by those above them in the social scale. . . . Their violations of the code of sexual morality are, if not more frequent, at least more widely known and more flagrant than those of other groups. . . .

The principal values held by the lower-lower class center about food, leisure, and family solidarity. . . . Stealing is more apt to be overlooked or condoned. Church influence is absent or weak . . . and children of this group tend to drop out of school at an earlier age than children of other social classes. Lower-class children are taught to fight. They experience more open exhibition of aggression in their homes. . . .

Similarly, lower-class children suffer less restraint on sex play and sex exploration than do middle-class children.[9]

The difficulties that may arise in a school where children of all social strata are thrown together are immediately evident. On the surface, segregation of children with different values might seem better, but this is not compatible with the democratic ideal, and, in any case, would not be feasible in smaller communities. Besides, teachers with middle-class values may perpetuate the conflict even in an exclusively lower-class school. Teachers sometimes do adapt their values to their students, but generally they use every possible means to transfer to a middle-class school, failing which, they often leave teaching altogether.[10]

Throughout their discussion of values, Havighurst and Taba emphasized the importance of education to the middle class and to

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[9] Robert J. Havighurst and Hilda Taba, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–34. Reprinted by permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

[10] Howard S. Becker, " The Career of the Chicago Public Schoolteacher," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 57, 1952, pp. 470–477.

the school society for which it sets the goals. Generally, academic or college preparatory training is most highly valued. In the past, only the children of the higher strata attended school beyond the early grades. Thus, the college preparatory work useful to the group most likely to attend college is still given a higher place than other studies. The great increase in school attendance brought to school many children who lack any desire or appreciation for academic training — the skills in grammar, writing, mathematics beyond arithmetic, and history. The difficulties encountered by these children in the ordinary school course, and the educational orientation which they might prefer, are depicted in Stephen M. Corey's presumably fictional "Poor Scholar's Soliloquy," quoted below.

No, I'm not very good at school. This is my second year in the seventh grade and I'm bigger and taller than the other kids. They like me all right, though, even if I don't say much in the schoolroom, because outside I can tell them how to do lots of things. They tag me around and that sort of makes up for what goes on in school.

I don't know why the teachers don't like me. They never have very much. Seems like they don't think you know anything unless they can name the book it comes out of. I've got a lot of books in my own room at home — books like *Popular Science, Mechanical Encyclopedia,* and the Sears' and Wards' catalogues, but I don't very often sit down and read them through like they make us do in school. I use my books when I want to find something out, like whenever Mom buys anything secondhand I look it up in Sears' or Wards' first and tell her if she's getting stung or not. I can use the index in a hurry to find the things I want.

In school, though, we've got to learn whatever is in the book and I just can't memorize the stuff. Last year I stayed after school every night for two weeks trying to learn the names of the Presidents. Of course I knew some of them like Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln, but there must have been thirty altogether and I never did get them straight.

I'm not too sorry though because the kids who learned the Presidents had to turn right around and learn all the Vice-Presidents. I'm taking the seventh grade over, but our teacher this year isn't so interested in the names of Presidents. She has us trying to learn the names of all the great American inventors.

I guess I just can't remember names in history. Anyway, this

year I've been trying to learn about trucks because my uncle owns three and he says that I can drive one when I'm sixteen. I already know the horsepower and number of forward and backward speeds of twenty-six American trucks, some of them Diesels, and I can spot each make a long way off. It's funny how that Diesel works. I started to tell my teacher about it last Wednesday in science class when the pump we were using to make a vacuum in a bell jar got hot, but she said she didn't see what a Diesel engine had to do with our experiment on air pressure so I just kept still. The kids seemed interested though. I took four of them around to my uncle's garage after school and we saw the mechanic Gus, tearing a big truck Diesel down. Boy, does he know his stuff!

I'm not very good in geography either. They call it economic geography this year. We've been studying the imports and exports of Chile all week but I couldn't tell you what they are. Maybe the reason is I had to miss school yesterday because my uncle took me and his big trailer truck down state about 200 miles and we brought almost ten tons of stock to the Chicago market.

He had told me where we were going and I had to figure out the highways to take and also the mileage. He didn't do anything but drive and turn where I told him to. Was that fun! I sat with a map in my lap and told him to turn south or southeast or some other direction. We made seven stops and drove over 500 miles round trip. I'm figuring now what his oil cost and also the wear and tear on the truck — he calls it depreciation — so we'll know how much we made.

I even write out all the bills and send letters to the farmers about what their pigs and beef cattle brought at the stockyards. I only made three mistakes in seventeen letters last time, my aunt said — all commas. She's been through high school and reads them over. I wish I could write school themes that way. The last one I had to write was on "What a Daffodil Thinks of Spring," and I just couldn't get going.

I don't do very well in school in arithmetic either. Seems I just can't keep my mind on the problems. We had one the other day like this:

> If a 57-foot telephone pole falls across a cement highway so that $17\frac{3}{6}$ feet extend from one side and $14\frac{9}{17}$ feet from the other, how wide is the highway?

That seemed to me like an awfully silly way to get the width of a highway. I didn't even try to answer it because it didn't say whether the pole had fallen straight across or not.

Even in shop I don't get very good grades. All of us kids made a broomholder and a bookend this term and mine were sloppy. I just couldn't get interested. Mom doesn't use a broom anymore with her new vacuum cleaner and all our books are in a book case with glass doors in the parlor. Anyway, I wanted to make an end gate for my uncle's trailer but the shop teacher said that meant using metal and wood both and I'd have to learn how to work with wood first. I didn't see why but I kept still and made a tie rack at school and the tail gate after school at my uncle's garage. He said I saved him $10.00.

Civics is hard for me too. I've been staying after school trying to learn the "Articles of Confederation" for almost a week because the teacher said we couldn't be good citizens unless we did. I really tried, because I want to be a good citizen. I did hate to stay after school, though, because a bunch of us boys from the south end of town have been cleaning up the old lot across from Taylor's Machine Shop to make a playground out of it for the little kids from the Methodist home. I made the jungle gym from old pipe and the guys made me Grand Mogul to keep the playground going. We raised money enough collecting scrap this month to build a wire fence clear around the lot.

Dad says I can quit school when I'm fifteen and I'm sort of anxious to because there are a lot of things I want to learn how to do and as my uncle says, I'm not getting any younger.[11]

This story emphasizes the value orientation of the traditional school and its conflict with the values of a boy who obviously is getting along quite satisfactorily in his own group. Although it presents a more extreme situation than actually exists in most American schools, some aspects of this situation can be found in nearly every school. In an earlier day, when only a few select youth were expected to attend the secondary schools, no one was concerned about the failure of most to become interested in abstract problems or subject matter. Today, when educators and others are pressing for 100 per cent attendance in the secondary-school years, many youth, like the "Poor Scholar," find the remnants of the traditional curriculum unstimulating. Furthermore, the teachers' expectations are frequently in conflict with the values and skills that have great merit in the "real" world.

The atmosphere of the elementary school has changed markedly

[11] Stephen M. Corey, "Poor Scholar's Soliloquy," *Childhood Education,* Vol. 20, 1944, pp. 219–220. Reprinted by permission of publisher and author.

in the past decades, so the "Poor Scholar" merits consideration as a human being. At the secondary-school level, however, there is still much pressure to force the child to accept the dominant values or to escape to a more comfortable social group. At the elementary-school level, where escape is impossible, lower-status youth may acquire some skill in the traditional academic skills and accept the values prevailing in such schools. If this does not occur, or if the elementary school has not maintained the traditional academic atmosphere, the youth is likely to find the demands of the traditional secondary school or college difficult to accept.

The educational values of American schools at mid-century are in a fluid and sometimes conflicting state. Many professional educators have striven to develop a "child-centered school," in which the educational program is adapted to the values and needs of the children. Other educators and most of the higher-status people in American communities seek to maintain the traditional emphasis on achievement in skills considered essential for professional and related roles in adult society.

Without entering into a discussion of the relative merits of one or another educational philosophy, we may well ask what effect this situation has had on the child? What type of values and beliefs is he learning? Is the child being adequately socialized for the society in which he will live?

On entering school he may be in a group in which the traditional rules of classroom organization or the middle-class values are infrequently, if ever, the focus of attention. A year or two later the orientation of the school may have changed, or another teacher may define the school situation in such a way that his previous adjustment is no longer satisfactory. Here he may be expected to meet certain absolute levels of achievement, do entirely individual work, assume individual responsibility for his performance, use the "proper" vocabulary, and behave in terms of many of the other traditional educational values. Again, in a year or so, the same child may find himself under the direction of a teacher who encourages co-operative group work, measures achievement in terms of growth rather than absolute standards, recognizes the values of the social group in which the pupil usually participates, and emphasizes the acquisition of skills she thinks will be useful to this child rather than a traditional set of academic ones. The child may now find that

many of the habits he learned the previous year are useless or detrimental to success in this situation.

One might maintain that a school climate in which one or the other set of values was consistently expected would best prepare the child for modern society. On the other hand, one might be able to demonstrate the desirability of experience in both situations because of the wide variation in the norms of our modern society. In this case it might be more effective to recognize both sets of norms as applicable to differing situations rather than shift from one to the other on a periodic year-to-year basis. If it is desirable to have experience under such varying sets of educational norms, perhaps it should be built into the system, so that the student would be given experience in each of several types of classroom climate. At present, such variation is haphazard and results not from a recognition of its desirability, but rather from a continuous vacillation between school personnels who are oriented toward different sets of beliefs.

Authoritarian and democratic social climates.   Another closely related aspect of the social climate of American education that needs careful examination is the authoritarian as against the democratic nature of leadership and group organization. In the previous chapter we saw that academic school achievement, in some cases, seems to be greater in more authoritarian situations. Now we examine the relationship of authoritarian and democratic climates to the socialization and personality adjustment of youth. Such an analysis is seriously complicated by the fact that many aspects of American society are decidedly authoritarian in spite of the democratic ideology constantly expressed. The educator is faced with the problem of training youth for life in a society as it currently exists, or seeking to provide training in harmony with the ideals of the society. It is difficult to know the type of educational experience most likely to assist the youth to function satisfactorily in such a society. Continuous experience in a classroom with democratic leadership and democratic atmosphere may make it difficult for the youth to adjust to the many authoritarian situations he is sure to encounter later. On the other hand, training in the acceptance of decision by an authoritarian teacher may make it difficult for the youth to play a democratic role in those situations in which he is expected to do so.

The classroom organization, with the teacher in position to de-

fine the leadership role and the social atmosphere, provides a situation in which almost any kind of group could be established. In view of this, Lippitt [12] and his associates experimented with a series of student groups operating in different social climates. Adult leaders of carefully matched groups systematically created divergent types of groups through their leader roles. Lewin explained and summarized the results of some of these studies as follows:

> As a beginning . . . Lippitt selected a comparison between a democratic and an autocratic atmosphere for his study. . . . Two groups of boys and girls, ten and eleven years of age, were chosen for a mask-making club from a group of eager volunteers of two different school classes. . . . There were eleven meetings of the groups; the democratic group meeting was always two days ahead of the autocratic one. The democratic groups chose its activities freely. Whatever they chose the autocratic group was then ordered to do.

.   .   .   .   .

> What was the effect of this atmosphere on the group life of the children? . . . There was about thirty times as much hostile domination in the autocracy as in the democracy, more demands for attention and much more hostile criticism; whereas in the democratic atmosphere co-operation and praise of the other fellow were much more frequent. In the democracy, more constructive suggestions were made, and a matter-of-fact or submissive behavior of member to member was more frequent.
>
> In interpreting these data, we might say that the "style of living and thinking" initiated by the leader dominated the relations between the children. In the autocracy, instead of a co-operative attitude, a hostile and highly personal attitude became prevalent. This was strikingly brought out by the amount of group "we" feeling as against "I" feeling; statements which were "we-centered" occurred twice as often in the democracy as in the autocracy, whereas far more statements in the autocracy were "I-centered" than in the democracy.
>
> On the whole . . . the style of living in both atmospheres governed the child-child relation as well as the child-leader relation. In the autocratic group, the children were less matter-of-fact, less

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[12] Ronald Lippitt and associates did this experiment about 1939 while at the University of Iowa with Kurt Lewin.

co-operative and submissive toward their equals, but more submissive to their superior than in the democracy. The tension is greater in the autocratic atmosphere, and the dynamic structure of both groups is rather different. In an autocratic group . . . a strong barrier kept by the leader prevents anyone from increasing his status by acquiring leadership. In a democratic atmosphere the difference in social status is slight and there exists no barrier against acquiring leadership.

In our experiment every individual in the democracy showed a greater individuality, having some field of his own in spite of the greater "we" feeling among them, or perhaps because of it. In the autocratic group, on the contrary, the children all had a low status without much individuality.

These group structures, in combination with the tension in the autocracy, led in Lippitt's experiments to a *scapegoat* situation. The children in the autocratic group ganged together, not against their leader, but against one of the children, and treated him so badly that he ceased coming to the club. . . . In other words, every child became a potential enemy of every other one and the power fields of the children weakened each other, instead of strengthening each other by co-operation.

.   .   .   .   .

The social climate in which the child lives is for the child as important as the air it breathes. The group to which a child belongs is the ground on which he stands. His relations to this group and his status in it are the most important factors for his feeling of security or insecurity. No wonder that the group the person is a part of, and the culture in which he lives, determine to a very high degree his behavior and character.[13]

Lewin views the democratic group atmosphere as more conducive to satisfying social adjustment as well as more harmonious with our ideology. The greater degree of tension and hostility in the autocrat-led groups and the greater expression of individuality and co-operative participation are seen as factors affecting the child's security or insecurity. Some persons might feel the child could have a more clearly defined role and therefore be more secure in an authoritarian group, but Lewin, Lippitt, and others did not find such a condition in these experimental groups.

[13] Kurt Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts,* New York: Harper & Bros., 1948, pp. 74–82, *passim.* Reprinted by permission.

Anderson's studies of lower-elementary groups with dominative and integrative teachers show similar conclusions.[14] The main focus of attention in these studies was the mental-hygiene aspect of the schoolroom situation. Anderson concluded that dominative and hostile behavior that resulted from the dominative teacher was decidedly detrimental to the satisfactory adjustment of the children. The democratic or, as he termed it, the *integrative* school group permits the child to find a place for himself in the group without hostility toward or transgression on the position of other children. In other words, the children work together in a satisfying manner rather than against one another.

In neither of these studies was there a systematic investigation of the effect on a child when he was changed from one to the other and back again to the former type of group atmosphere or leadership. Lippitt did find it took longer for the child to learn democratic behavior after having been in an autocratic group than it did for the opposite adjustment to occur. This suggests that American children may be more accustomed to participating in authoritarian groups than in democratic ones. Lewin emphasizes the idea that democracy has to be learned, while autocracy is imposed on the individual.[15]

Both Lewin and Anderson emphasized that the child takes on the characteristic behavior of the group in which he is placed. In other words, he reflects the behavior patterns which are set by the adult leader of the group. The effects of repeated changes from one type of schoolroom social climate to another, a common practice in many schools, are yet to be learned.

The vacillation between the authoritarian and democratic definitions of the classroom situation is a reflection of the conflict between educational philosophies that have been labeled "traditional" and "progressive." In the former, achievement in the traditional school subjects is the point of major emphasis. This, we noted earlier, has been accomplished successfully in the authoritarian atmosphere, wherein the teacher sets himself apart from the student group. The latter emphasizes growth of the child's personality through democratic classroom organization. Traditionalists maintain that this

[14] Harold Anderson *et al., Studies of Classroom Personality, I, II, III,* Applied Psychology Monographs of the American Psychological Association; Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1945, 1946.

[15] Lewin, *op. cit.,* p. 82.

is done at the expense of achievement in the basic skills and the child is thus handicapped in the competitive adult world. Although considerable evidence indicates that both goals may be accomplished in a classroom which has consistent democratic leadership and supervision, the attack and counterattack between the two groups continue. The chief characteristic of the American school atmosphere is its continual shifting between authoritarian and democratic leadership and between various degrees of each.

Competition and co-operation in the school. The shifting social climate in America's schools is further demonstrated by the patterns of both competition and co-operation. This is probably more evident in grades and other types of rewards and punishments than in any other area. It is true, too, in many other classroom and out-of-class activities.

Every American who has attended school in recent decades is aware of the importance teachers and most students attach to grades. Grades are generally assigned on a competitive basis; students who excel in academic achievements are rewarded with superior grades, while those who acquire such knowledge more slowly are the losers in the race for grades and other rewards. In many communities this type of competitive struggle for academic recognition is learned early in the school career. The following case illustrates this point.

Ted lived in a college community where he attended a relatively "progressive" school. Grades were not assigned and parent-teacher conferences were used instead of report cards. During the first grade Ted made good academic progress and learned to read considerably better than the average for his age group. During the first week or two of the second grade, he was decidedly disturbed and difficult to get along with at home. He could not explain the difficulty to his parents, but he indicated that the teacher had his group reading first-grade books. This he interpreted to mean that he had been assigned to a slower reading group. When the parents could no longer cope with Ted's emotional disturbance, they arranged a conference with the teacher. The teacher assured them that Ted was doing very well and was one of the members of the best reading group. When informed about Ted's concern about the use of the first-grade books, she recognized that she had not explained to the group that this book was really a more difficult one which she was asking the better readers to read instead of the sec-

ond-grade book that the other groups were using. She explained that Ted would not have permitted her to make the mistake of putting him in the slower reading group, for he had told her on the first day of school that he was the best reader in his room the year before.

The competitive struggle for academic achievement in Ted's home and the community had conveyed the importance of this educational goal even in a school which was attempting to evaluate individual student growth on a noncompetitive basis. As in most schools of this type, the learning experiences were usually organized on a co-operative group basis, but the traditional emphasis on individual responsibility and competition in the community could not be avoided. Thus the students compete for the teacher's attention and rewards of other sorts. The committee or team system, which teachers have developed so that children will learn to work together, has in our society become the basis for intense group competition. Each child seeks the favored position on the working committees, and each committee competes to get the most recognition for its project. The dual and sometimes conflicting demands for both competition and co-operation in American culture are clearly reflected in the classroom. Although the grading system may enhance the competitive atmosphere, it is certainly not the only aspect of the school that does so.

Riesman describes this situation in the school in connection with the discussion of the basic shift that he believes is occurring in the American character.

> Especially important is the fact that the co-operation and leadership that are inculcated in and expected of the children are frequently contentless. In nursery school it is not important whether Johnny plays with a truck or in the sandbox, but it matters very much whether he involves himself with Bill — via any object at all. To be sure, there are a few, very few, truly progressive schools where the children . . . exercise genuine choice of their program, move at their own pace, and use the teacher as a friendly reference library; here co-operation is necessary and meaningful in actual work on serious projects. Far more frequently, however, the teacher continues to hold the reins of authority in her hands, hiding her authority under the cloak of reasoning and manipulation. In the extreme forms of this situation, there is nothing on which the

children have to co-operate in order to get it done. The teacher
will do it for them anyway. Hence when she is asking them to co-
operate, she is really asking that they be nice.[16]

Co-operative friendly relations have come to be highly valued
in the society as well as in the school. Without complete under-
standing of the reason for or the devices by which co-operation is
achieved, the teacher in the semiprogressive school resorts to the
traditional techniques developed in a social climate of individual
work and competition.

The influence of this aspect of the social climate on the person-
ality of the child is no better known than that of the others. In the
past few years, teachers have become aware of possible effects of
rugged competition on the socialization of students. They have be-
come particularly concerned about the slower pupil who always fails
in the competition for grades and rewards. The discarded promo-
tion systems, however, have not been replaced by a new system of
rewards for co-operation. The confused and sometimes conflicting
system of both competition and co-operation, with their associated
rewards and punishments, may result in similarly confused persons.
If, as seems apparent, this situation is characteristic of American
society in general, school experience of the same kind may be essen-
tial to satisfactory participation in such a society. There is little
evidence to indicate that a school which would reward exclusively
either competitive or co-operative activity would prepare the youth
for life in a society where sometimes one and sometimes the other is
rewarded.

Trends in the social climate of the school.   We have examined
the social climate of the school in regard to values, authoritarian
and democratic patterns, and the processes of competition and co-
operation. Throughout our discussion there is not a single theme
that characterizes the school; rather, there are continuations, varia-
tions, and combinations of themes. In some respects, the themes
may reinforce one another, while in others they may be in conflict.
In a segmental and changing society such as ours, this is not sur-
prising. Although we may yearn for the security of a society in
which all aspects of the culture are clearly defined in all situations,

[16] David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950,
pp. 62–63. Reprinted by permission.

this can hardly be expected in the schools of our society. Just as there are varying and conflicting themes in the adult society, so, too, are they found in the schools.

Most observers would readily note a trend over the past few decades toward what is generally described as a more progressive type of school situation. Although this is true, a detailed examination shows that there are countertrends and combinations of characteristics of the traditional and the progressive. These make it difficult to describe or to characterize the changes that have occurred. Recognizing that neither exists in actual form, but that characteristics of both exist in various degrees, we have constructed two contrasting types of school situations — the earlier or traditional school, and the contemporary or semiprogressive school.[17]

TYPES OF SCHOOL SOCIAL CLIMATE

Traditional	*Contemporary*
Conformity to middle-class values	Recognition of the values of some other social classes
Emphasis on intellectual achievement and discipline	Emphasis on the social and emotional adjustment of the child
Authoritarian teacher control	Mixed authoritarian and democratic teacher control
Strong barrier to friendly communication between teacher and student	An atmosphere in which teachers seek friendly, congenial teacher-student relations, and students sometimes reciprocate
A single standard of evaluating students' achievement that is clearly defined and understood	Some evaluation of student achievement on an individual basis with a recognition of differences
Highly competitive, with those who fail to achieve the standard eliminated	Mixed competition and co-operation, with expectation that the majority of the students will remain for a time

[17] *Ibid.,* pp. 55–65. Although we are not concerned with Riesman's thesis that American social character is changing from an "inner-directed" to an "other-directed" type, the analysis in this section parallels his study of the changing school situation. His discussion helped to crystallize the writer's ideas in this area.

One of the most effective arguments for the progressive school is that the traditional school created, rather than solved, the problems of personality adjustment.   The child-centered school, with its interest in the child's adjustment, was expected to provide an atmosphere in which sound mental health might be achieved.   Two difficulties in this process are evident.   First, it is extremely difficult to redefine the social climate of the school when the traditional expectations are still important to those who have influence.   The result is a mixed and sometimes strife-ridden climate in the contemporary school.   Here the child is expected to co-operate in small matters, such as the election of class officers, or the question of whether to study insects or birds, but to compete in the traditional manner for the achievement of a fourth-grade reading level in the third grade.

The second difficulty is, as the traditionalists are always pointing out, that the society is still sufficiently authoritarian and competitive to require that the child learn to meet its standards and to accept failure on his own and not as one of a co-operative group. This is complicated by the fact that we have not adequately examined the nature of the society into which the child is going, nor do we know the type of school experience that will prepare him for it. Perhaps the society is no longer what the traditionalists would have us believe.   As Riesman indicated, there are parallels between the contemporary school situation and modern industry.

There is a curious resemblance between the role of the teacher in the small-class modern school . . .   and the role of the industrial relations department in a modern factory.   The latter is also increasingly concerned with co-operation between men and men, and between men and management, as technical skill becomes less and less of a major concern.   In a few of the more advanced plants there is even a pattern of democratic decision on moot matters — occasionally important . . . , but usually as trivial as the similar decisions of grammar school government.   Thus the other-directed child is taught at school to take his place in a society where the concern of the group is less with what it produces than with its internal group relations, its morale.[18]

On the surface the absence of a clearly defined and integrated social climate in the school seems undesirable.   It is possible that a

[18] David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950, p. 64.   Reprinted by permission.

satisfying social adjustment is more likely to be achieved in such a situation. If the adult society is not characterized by an integrated social climate, perhaps the school would more effectively socialize the child if it were not integrated. In this case the willy-nilly shifting from the traditional to the progressive and the mixture of the two may be the best experience in preparation for the changing society in which the child may live. This is not advocated in support of the *status quo* in either the school or the total society. Both may be productive of extensive social and personality maladjustment. Neither is it offered in condemnation of the efforts of educators to achieve a more democratic society both in and out of school.

We have sought only to consider the function of the school social climate in socializing the child for the kind of society in which he is likely to live. Given the type of society prevailing in the United States today, one which is likely to prevail in the foreseeable future, what kind of school social situation will most help the child to live in it? In response to this question, we have stated an hypothesis which needs much research for verification or modification.

Questions for Discussion

1. Distinguish between the demands made on the child by the school and the home, the school and the church, and the home and the church, drawing on your experience.
2. "In this (the following) sense, the school values are democratic. All children should have a chance to learn how to behave as the 'good' people do and thus achieve a higher status." Discuss these statements.
3. Under what circumstances might experience in the atmosphere of the authoritarian classroom be of value in later life?
4. Discuss competition as a driving force in the school. Where does it arise? Who keeps it going?
5. Describe the social climate of a schoolroom you know well. What are the more significant behavior norms in this group? Suggest two or three hypotheses concerning the impact of this social situation on the adjustment of children in the larger society.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Cameron, Norman, *The Psychology of Behavior Disorders,* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947.

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Havighurst, Robert J. and Taba, Hilda, *Adolescent Character and Personality,* New York: John Wiley, and Sons, Inc., 1949.

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Rivlin, Harry N., *Educating for Adjustment,* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1936.

Stanley, William O., *Education and Social Integration,* New York: Teachers College, Columbia University Press, 1953.

13. Socialization and Personality Adjustment in the School: II. Models and Roles

THE ENTIRE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IS BASED ON the assumption that certain types of behavior can be acquired in the social situation. But this is not all that is involved in the socialization process. If particular behavior is to be learned, it would seem essential that models of such behavior be available to the child. The wide range of situations in modern American society to which the child is exposed makes this extremely complex.

At one time, our society was characterized by closely-knit and highly personalized social groups in which there was a limited number of social roles which were clearly understood. This type of society has been variously identified as primary, sacred, and *Gemeinschaft*. The urban, industrialized, and rationalistic society of twentieth-century America has, in contrast, been characterized as secondary, secular, or *Gesellschaft*. In the latter type of society, the individual interacts with a relatively large number of persons, but the contacts tend to be of the rational and touch-and-go variety. This is associated with a divergence in group norms of behavior and an emphasis on impersonal, formal means of control. In our urbanized society, where such relationships are common, the individual frequently moves from one social group to another with widely different behavioral norms. The person thus operates in

several segments of society and is expected to behave differently in each.

This segmented society requires a different model from that previously found in either the home or the school. In the sacred or *Gemeinschaft* type of society, the parent and the teacher had an adequate understanding of the expected behavior in all social positions. The teacher could either exemplify or describe the models of behavior for each position. Today the educator must train the youth to function in a wide variety of situations. The teacher cannot know the norms of expected behavior for many of these. It is particularly difficult to know the behavior necessary for situations currently undefined, but which will be common to future citizens. Even within the current society, the definitions of good behavior are not as universal as they may frequently seem. The youth who has internalized the norms of conduct in one set of circumstances may find that such behavior goes unrewarded or even ridiculed in other situations. This is true even of sex codes and property rights, the areas generally considered most sacred in our society. The question of property rights illustrates this variation.[1]

Almost every American condemns stealing, but the appropriation of the property of others is not always called stealing. Every hotel manager is also aware of the traveler's code with regard to certain items of hotel property. Similarly the millions of men and women who have served in the armed forces recognize that the definition of stealing varies with the situation.

The same type of variation exists on a level that most citizens would consider more serious. Sutherland described how the "white-collar" businessman regularly engages in practices which, under other circumstances, would be defined as misappropriation of funds if not outright stealing.[2]

While middle-class parents and teachers condemn burglary and similar crimes, they may at the same time engage in tax evasion, stock manipulation, and "sharp bargaining" — all of which is considered "good" management. The disregard of school property, such as books, by lower-class children will be seriously condemned by these same parents and teachers.

[1] This and other parts of this chapter are drawn heavily from W. B. Brookover, "Social Factors in Citizenship Education," *Education for Democratic Citizenship,* Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1951.
[2] E. A. Sutherland, *White Collar Crime,* New York: Dryden Press, 1949.

There are many other illustrations of the divergence of norms from one segment of the secularized society to another. The implications for the teacher who is concerned with the socialization of the youth are readily apparent. With some confidence the educator in the sacred society can generally teach the youth that the norms which he understands will continue to function. The educator in an expanding and segmentalized world of interaction has a different problem. How can he provide models of action for a social situation which neither he nor the youth has ever known? How can the youth internalize the expected roles for such situations? Yet many young people will certainly be expected to assume roles in numerous divergent social groups in the nation and the world. In this ever-expanding, segmentalized society, new models are apparently needed.

The youth can no longer learn the behavior appropriate to a particular position in the community and look forward to living the role expected in this position as he understands it. Rather he must acquire the skill to adapt his behavior to the expectancies of many different positions and situations. The models necessary for the development of this type of personality must fit many situations. The individual must be able to learn readily and without disturbance the behavior that is expected in each new role.

MODELS AVAILABLE TO SCHOOL YOUTH

There is, as yet, little basis for determining the effectiveness of the socialization process as it occurs in our schools. A few scattered studies have been made, but no definite answers can be given. Our purpose is to examine the models with which youth associate and to suggest some hypotheses concerning the impact of this association on the personalities of the youth.

The range of interaction in the school.   In a society characterized by segmentation and an increasing variety of association, the range of models and interaction provided for the youth is surely a factor in this adjustment. Although the school is only one source of this interaction, it certainly must be considered in the total process.

In the earlier traditional school the well-known norms of the sacred society were taught. The range of positions to which youth

might aspire was common knowledge to the parents as well as to the teacher. Models of behavior for each of these positions were available in the community. Hence, the teacher could communicate to the youth the norms of behavior for the farmer, the blacksmith, or the housewife. The variation from one community to another was so slight that the teacher might migrate some distance with little difficulty; he communicated the same norms and presented the same models to the youth.

Our images of the school in the earlier sacred society are of two separate types. In some respects, the schools presented somewhat different models. The more common type is that of the small country school with a single teacher who was usually one of the young men or women of the neighborhood. The children in the area attended a few months for each of a half-dozen years or so. Here they interacted only with other youth in the neighborhood and with the teacher. There was little or no concern about the ways of life in another society; nor was there any need to be so concerned. The school supplemented to a slight degree the other neighborhood groups in the socialization process, but this was not an important function of the school. In many ways the rural schools of today are images of the little country school.

The other type of image emanating from the sacred social scene is that of the private school or academy. A few selected youth took some personal belongings, their rural experience, and perhaps a superior academic skill to an isolated school where they were taught the behavior norms and the special skills of a few social positions. The minister and perhaps the lawyer were the most common objects of their aspirations. The professor's position was so similar to these that he had only to present himself as a model.[3]

The modern educator is dedicated to the preparation of youth for life in a quite different society, but much of the earlier image persists. The teachers recognize that the models of another day may not be adequate for the future. They have, therefore, sought to provide a wider range of models and experiences by taking the school into the community and bringing the community into the school. This extends the realm of interaction beyond the classroom walls, but our social laboratories are still extremely restricted

[3] An illuminating analysis of these images of the earlier schools is made by Margaret Mead, *The School in American Culture,* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951.

when compared to the variety of social situations in which the youth may find himself. The opportunities for interaction with varying models are almost always bounded by the local community or, at most, by the state. Occasionally, the school may give the youth a glimpse of other segments of society, but these occasions are generally so rare and limited in interaction that they have little effect. Widespread mobility from community to community, particularly from rural to urban, demands an understanding of behavior in many parts of the society.

The child from lower-status families has extensive opportunities to interact with the models of the higher-status groups in the school. The school often provides opportunities for community leaders of the middle and upper classes to associate with its students. It is rare, however, for the school to arrange association between the students and labor union officials or other leaders of lower-status groups. Children from these groups have little opportunity in the school to associate with the models toward which they might more realistically aspire. Through fear of consequences or the assumption that only white-collar groups provide worthy models, the school may fail to supply any realistic pattern of other behavior for such youth. It would seem desirable for all youth to have an opportunity to interact with models of the lower-status as well as with those of the higher-status groups. The managerial or professional group needs an understanding of the blue-collar worker's behavior almost as much as the worker himself.

Just as it is important that Americans understand the models from varying social groups within the society, so is it essential that the models of behavior from all societies be internalized to some degree. We noted that the range of models available to the youth is generally limited to the local community and "proper" middle-class behavior. This is frequently true even when the school makes a sincere attempt to integrate the school program with the life of the community. Participation in the community life and government of "Jonesville" may add little to the youth's ability to participate satisfactorily in an expanded and highly differentiated society. Some would even claim that intensive involvement in the local community might decrease the facility with which the student could adjust to a society outside the provincial limits of his community.

There is little evidence that education has prepared the students

for adjustment in a highly secularized society.   The misunderstanding and conflict among various segments of society as well as the incidence of neuroses and psychoses suggest the need for a further examination of the educational experience.   Although a wider range of interaction with models from varying segments of our own and other societies would be desirable, it is far from certain that this in itself would develop personalities that could function well in our expanding world.   In spite of our world-wide experience in war, travel, and trade, relatively few Americans have an accurate concept of the models of Asiatic, or even European, behavior.   Instead, the stereotyped concepts of these groups persist.

In addition to the need for a wider range of interaction, it seems essential that youth have the opportunity to associate with a variety of models capable of adjusting readily to many different situations. Each person in a society like ours functions in varying groups. Within each group there are norms which differ from others. Contact with several teachers who may serve as models in various social situations would seem desirable.   Such models, in turn, would need to be tolerant and to react without shock to the behavior of other groups.

General characteristics of teacher models.   In spite of pressure for conformity, teachers vary considerably in the degree to which they represent models of behavior for differing social situations. Some administrators and school boards may select predominantly one type or another of teacher, but throughout the country one would very likely find a wide range of teachers who typify behavior in particular segments of society.   There is no known investigation of the proportion or distribution of any type of teacher personality. We have examined the social roles and personality of teachers in earlier chapters; our purpose here is to note those factors in the school situation that would seem to select a variety of teachers with willingness to accept the behavior of others in heterogeneous groups. Several factors probably operate to select persons who meet these criteria.

One set of factors producing some variation among the teacher population is the range of social groups in which they may have participated during their lifetime.   We have noted that teachers are frequently upwardly mobile.   This suggests that teachers include

persons from various positions in the social structure. Some have acquired sufficient understanding of the middle-class values and skills to adapt to this group. Others may retain their primary orientation toward lower-status groups. Moreover, teachers have a wide range of interaction through travel, varied education, and mobility from one type of community to another. Because of this, some teachers may be quite cosmopolitan in their group orientation. This, plus the fact that many teachers are not identified with the community social structure, may provide another set of models for youth. This variety of experience and social background may produce a heterogeneous group of teachers in a given school.

There is an increasing opinion among educators that teachers should be selected for their understanding of children rather than for academic grades or their ability to maintain strict discipline. If this becomes a common practice, teachers may be quite tolerant of the behavior of persons in the various strata of society. A broad understanding of children implies an appreciation of the social origin of the children and the norms of behavior in each of the various segments of society. Such an understanding would likely lead to more tolerant reaction to the behavior of people from divergent groups.

On the other hand, there are counterforces that may produce a more narrowly oriented and rigid person. In the first place, many teacher-training institutions and school officials tend to select persons and to indoctrinate their selectees to fit a narrow model of the "good teacher." (See Chapter 10.) Certainly many persons avoid teaching or leave it because of the pressure to conform to the special code and model. Those who remain in teaching may gradually adjust to the less varied and flexible expectations. A second factor operating in many school situations is the preference for "home" teachers and opposition to the introduction of "foreign" ideas. This would seem to limit selection to teachers who present only the model of behavior valued in the local community.

At present it is impossible to determine the extent to which teachers meet the criteria we have suggested. Much research is necessary before we will know either the nature of the models now in the school or how they affect the lives of youth.[4]

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[4] See Robert Peck, "The Child Patterns Himself after His Favorite Models," *Fostering Mental Health in Schools,* Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1950, pp. 146–151, for a stimulating discussion of the problem presented here.

In the absence of such research, we offer the hypothesis that youth would be better equipped for a secular, segmental society if they had an opportunity to associate with adults who typified behavior in varying segments. Supplementary to this is the suggestion that such adult models should be tolerant of the behavior in other social groups.

Special characteristics of teacher models.   Perhaps the first requisite of the teacher in America is that he or she must "set a good example." As we have noted, teachers are frequently selected on this basis rather than for their more specific qualifications as teachers. The "good" behavior as defined for teachers is often an unrealistic and divergent model. The divergence is in the direction of the sacred norm rather than in the direction of any questionable or disapproved behavior. The image of "good" is something which no one, other than teachers or members of religious orders, is expected to achieve. At the same time, the youth may be expected to learn that he really is not to emulate this behavior. This would appear to set the stage for conflict and frustration in youth, but there is little or no evidence that such is the case. In another area, it is apparent that many Americans accept an ideal model of behavior toward minority groups which involves equality and nondiscrimination at the same time that they accept and display models of discriminatory behavior. We continue to expect teachers to personify the good model because of their role in relation to youth.

Another aspect of the teacher model as it relates to the child is the discrepancy between the teachers and other models with which the child interacts. When teachers behave in terms of a special code, they present a model quite different from that presented by parents, neighbors, and other adults. Quite apart from the merits of the proposition that teachers should present a "good" example to the students is the result of the presentation of two or more different models. While the teacher model is defined as "good" in one situation, the child may be faced with the fact that his father, mother, and others may look upon the teacher as a bit peculiar. They, in turn, may provide the child with a distinctly different example of acceptable behavior. Unless the child is given a complete understanding of the occasions in which each model is to apply, he may be disturbed by the confusion in models. If such

definitions are clearly grasped, however, the differences in behavior norms to which the child is exposed may assist in his adjustment to the segmented society in which he will live.

The typical teacher model in American society is generally seen as a woman. Certainly the great majority of teachers are women. Although this condition exists for other reasons, it has often been advocated as best for the elementary age groups. At this level the teacher often assumes the role of the mother and provides a continuation of the family scene. Since the father now is absent from the home a large portion of the time, the child may thus find the schoolroom much like his home. This may not always be the case. We have noted that the atmosphere of the school group and the role of the teacher in it may be decidedly more authoritarian and rigid than the situation over which the mother presides. Furthermore, the difference between the social values and orientation of the teacher and those of many of her students' parents may generate conflicts early in the child's school life.

The absence of men in the school scene accounts in part for the paucity of male models for boys. In the earlier rural society, the boy associated with his father and other men regularly during the working day. At an early age he took his place beside the men and participated in all their work and other activities. In the urban society this is impossible until the youth has reached the age at which he is expected to assume an adult role. The presence of more male models in the school might serve to counterbalance this condition. To be effective, men must present a more distinctly masculine model than is frequently the image of male teachers today. Unfortunately, the popular stereotyped image of male teachers is one of the factors that make the teacher role unattractive to young men.

The models presented by the predominantly female faculties are of signal importance during the adolescent years. When the youth are in the process of assuming adult roles and detaching themselves from their parents, the other models with which they interact may have a greater effect than at other times. Although there are more men on the secondary-school faculties, some adolescent boys may still have little interaction with them. Furthermore the effeminate stereotype of the male teacher may cause adolescent boys to disparage rather than to seek interaction with such models. There

are some exceptions to this, of course, the most notable being the athletic coach. The absence of other masculine models in the high school may account, in part, for the tremendous attention given the athletic program and the demand that the coaching role provide a satisfying model for all boys.

The relation of the adolescent girls to the teacher models presents a somewhat different problem. Until the last decade, most women teachers were unmarried. Even though this has changed, the woman teacher is still frequently typed as unmarried. Adolescent girls, for whom the achievement of satisfactory relationship with men is a major interest, see little in the life of the unmarried teacher to help in this socialization process. At the same time the movies, fiction, advertising, and other mass media, as well as the lives of most adults, present marriage as an essential in the achievement of an acceptable adult female status. Increasingly the married teachers are providing such acceptable teacher models.

Yet many of the married teachers may be rejected by the adolescents because of the difficulty of adjusting the career role with that of wife and mother. Although extrahousehold careers for married women are increasingly acceptable in American society, the married teacher may be a reluctant career woman who brings little enthusiasm to the position. Her preference for the role of a housewife may be clearly evident, or teaching may be an escape from an unpleasant family situation. Economic necessity may cause married women to take teaching positions somewhat reluctantly. In any case the married woman does not always present a model of a satisfactory adjustment to the combined roles of wife, mother, and teacher. There are teachers who have successfully combined the dual roles of marriage and career, and these may provide models for those girls who find this prospect attractive. Those who look forward only to the role of wife and mother must necessarily find the models outside the school.

Some teachers may become models of what one should not be. Here again there is little systematic knowledge, but the derogatory names that high-school youth sometimes have for teachers suggest that certain teachers are clearly identified as negative images.

To the extent that teachers find the resources to adjust to the stress in their roles, they may be highly desirable models for socialization in our society. Certainly many teachers have made satis-

factory personal adjustments to the stress in teaching positions and such teachers may serve as adequate models for youth who will find themselves in other stress positions.

Although American educators and parents emphasize the importance of employing teachers who are models of good behavior, there is really no consensus about the nature of that conduct. Furthermore, there is, at present, no sound basis for determining the function of each model. We have emphasized the need for teacher models for a wide variety of social situations, and for models who are not disturbed by new social situations. There is little evidence to indicate whether or not present-day teachers meet these criteria. We are, therefore, neither in a position to accept the current models nor to condemn them.

ROLE EXPECTATIONS IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS

In addition to the social climate, which defines the general norms and conditions of behavior, and the models of behavior presented to the pupils, the school functions in socialization by defining the specific expectations of the students. In general these expectations of the student role are primarily defined for the student by three groups: the teachers, the parents, and other students. There are also community and social class differences in these expectations. Although we recognize these differences, it is impossible to consider them except in broad categories. The expectations which are presented here are types abstracted from the actual school situations. For this reason they may not fit any school in all details. They do, however, describe types of expectations which are relevant to the behavior in most schools.

Expectations of teachers.   The teacher is, first of all, a representative of the parents and community in defining the expectations of the student. In Chapter 3 we noted that Americans expect a wide range of outcomes from the school experience. The specific expectations with regard to behavior in the school are less clearly defined, but underlying all of them is a demand that the child learn what he is supposed to learn. This, at least, is the teacher's interpretation of her task. In spite of the widespread discussion of "progressive" education and its assumed lack of emphasis on academic achievement, nearly all teachers expect their students

to learn the three R's and whatever subject matter is included in the curriculum.   Even in the most "progressive" schools, the student is judged by the ease or difficulty with which he learns the prescribed skills and knowledge.   The methods of achieving this learning may vary greatly, but all teachers want their students to learn to read, to write, to spell, to understand history and science, and to master other skills and knowledge.   The teacher may recognize that some students will learn at an earlier age or under different circumstances, but it is understood that the student should at some time assume the learner role.   In order to fulfill the expectations of the teacher, the child must acquire an acceptable level of knowledge and skill.   Failure to achieve the expected goals results in an unfavorable reaction or punishment from the teachers.   Failure to succeed may also affect the status and role of the individual in such a manner that his emotional balance and conduct in other situations are unsatisfactory.

The practice of promoting a child to the next grade in spite of limited achievement in the expected areas is now widespread, despite the fact that many students are retarded one or more grades. Specific data on the proportion of retardation are not available, but in 1950 Mangus estimated that about one out of every six students in school was retarded.[5]   The effect of such school failure on socialization and personality development may, in some cases, be desirable, but there is considerable evidence that many retarded children have serious personality difficulties.   Mangus found that more than half the retarded children in a sample of Ohio elementary grades were "poorly adjusted."   He summarized the findings of his study with regard to the retarded group as follows:

As a group they were notably lacking in self-confidence, self-esteem, and a sense of personal worth. . . . Also they showed lack of security in their social relations and tended to feel that they did not belong in the groups in which they were placed.   They were considerably below par with respect to withdrawing tendencies, neurotic symptoms, family relations, and school relations.[6]

In addition to the children who are retarded in school, there are others who are clearly identified as below the norms of anticipated

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[5] A. R. Mangus, "Effect of Mental and Educational Retardation on Personality Development of Children," *American Journal of Mental Deficiency,* Vol. 55, 1950, pp. 208–212.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 210.   Reprinted by permission.

academic achievement. Even though these students may be retained in the same school age-grade group, their limited achievement in the expected learning process may produce results similar to those shown among the retarded children. In this group, as well as in the retarded group, failure to achieve the established grades may result in a sense of insecurity, a lack of self-confidence, and loss of self-esteem.

The inability to fulfill the expected "learner" role in the school may have significant effects on the out-of-school activities of the student and in his later life adjustment. Young's comments on the point are pertinent.

> The implication of such experiences for later life are hard to state, but studies of juvenile delinquency have repeatedly shown that many of these offenders are children who did not get along well in school. So, too, many manifestations of neuroticism among adults may stem, in part, from earlier maladjustments in school. Unfortunately, our emphasis on competitiveness and personal achievement tends to foster the practice of obliging such children to tackle materials which will never have any meaning for them, while they neglect the acquiring of knowledge, skill, and moral values which will help them grow to be useful citizens.[7]

Associated with the expectation that the student will learn is the further anticipation that he will do nothing to interfere with his learning. This is the common-sense concept of school discipline. The child cannot learn when he is participating in other activity or otherwise not giving his full attention to the learning situation. The nature of the learning activities has changed greatly in recent years, and with this has come a change in the teacher's concept of discipline.

Teachers still expect the students to pay attention to the class-learning activity and to refrain from causing a disturbance of any kind. In her study of classroom disturbances, Hayes developed a list of types of behavior that constituted definite interference with the teacher's purposes and with orderly classroom procedures. (See Table XXII.) The list was then submitted to a group of super-

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[7] Kimball Young, *Personality and Problems of Adjustment,* 2nd ed., New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1952. p. 425. Reprinted by permission. Chapter 15, "Pupil Adjustment in the School," is a valuable supplement to the discussion here.

visors with the request to indicate whether or not they thought each type of behavior constituted a "definite interference in the classroom" and whether "children have been taught that this behavior is not acceptable in the classroom." [8]

TABLE XXII.   **Categories   of   disturbing   classroom   behavior   among eighth-graders as identified by Hayes in order of frequency.**[9]

 1. Whispering (against class usage, creating a disturbance)
 2. Paying attention to another student instead of to the work at hand
 3. Unnecessary noise, hitting pencil on desk, dropping books, et cetera
 4. Talking aloud (against class usage, creating a disturbance)
 5. Laughing so as to disturb others, making queer noises, whistling
 6. Moving without permission, wandering around
 7. "Wisecrack," asking silly questions, making silly remarks
 8. Direct disobedience to authority (e.g. refusing to move when told)
 9. Pushing others, pulling at them, tickling them, scuffling
10. Fighting, hitting, actual blows
11. Protest (concerning amount or conditions of work, or teacher's requests)
12. Criticism or complaint which was unjust or not constructive
13. Bossing, bullying, dominating others, arguing, interrupting
14. Throwing objects, playing with objects
15. Passing notes
16. Ridicule, making fun of others verbally
17. Exaggerated or affected gestures
18. Seizing or hiding property of others
19. Scolding, finding fault with another
20. Anger, expressed vocally or by facial expression
21. Threatening others
22. Expressed dislike of another
23. Refusal to answer, obvious withdrawal

The supervisors agreed that such activities as whispering, unnecessary noise, moving without permission, disturbing others, and all the other types of behavior listed would interfere with learning and that the students understood that such actions were not acceptable.   Students are expected to devote their full attention to the learning activity which the teacher considers appropriate.

The impact of this type of role expectancy on the socialization and personality adjustment of the child has been the subject of much

[8] Margaret L. Hayes, "A Study of Classroom Disturbances of Eighth-Grade Boys and Girls," *Teachers College, Contributions to Education, No. 871,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1943, p. 20.

[9] *Ibid.,* adapted from data on pp. 20–21 and 41.   Reprinted by permission.

concern. The increased freedom which is characteristic of the more "progressive" elementary schools has been advocated partly because it is presumed to provide a desirable milieu for satisfactory personality development. The more rigid definitions of acceptable behavior which frown upon communication with fellow students may be conducive to specific learning activity, but at the same time they may interfere with the general socialization process. In the 1920's, Wickman attempted to evaluate teachers' codes of desirable and problem behavior by the mental hygienists' concepts of wholesome child behavior.[10] At the time he found no significant correlation between the ratings of the seriousness of children's behavior by the two groups. Some behavior involving sex, dishonesty, and defiance of school regulations that the teachers rated as serious was considered unimportant by the mental hygienists. The demands of supervisors and the teachers' expectations that the children learn the prescribed curricula led the teachers to consider any behavior that did not contribute to this process disrupting and serious. The middle-class moral codes concerning sex and property also have significant bearing on the teachers' ratings.

Since Wickman's study there has been much emphasis in teacher-training programs on personality adjustment and mental health in relation to education. Closer agreement between the teachers and mental hygienists would now be anticipated. In 1940 Mitchell repeated with slight modification the study that Wickman made in 1927.[11] He asked nearly four hundred teachers in the same cities to rerate forty-nine of the same behavior problems that teachers had rated earlier. There was a .78 rank correlation between the average teachers' ratings of the listed behavior on the two occasions. The mental hygienists' ratings showed a similar correlation of .80. These results indicate that both groups had changed their opinions to some extent in the intervening period. The mental hygienists gave less serious ratings to some types of behavior that the teachers considered serious. The teachers, on the other hand, had come to consider nonaggressive traits, such as lack of sociability, fearfulness, sullenness, unhappiness, cowardliness, suspicious-

[10] E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes,* New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1928.
[11] J. C. Mitchell, "A Study of Teachers' and Mental Hygienists' Ratings of Certain Behavior Problems of Children," *Journal of Educational Research,* Vol. 36, 1943, pp. 292–307.

ness, despondency, and nervousness, more serious than they had
in 1927. The ratings of the two groups showed a correlation of .70
in 1940 as compared to —.08 in 1927.

Although the ratings of teachers and mental hygienists are now
in closer agreement, there are still sharp differences between them.
It will be noted in Table XXIII that among the ten traits rated most
serious by teachers, only four were rated among the most serious by

TABLE XXIII.   **Ten of forty-nine children's behavior items rated
most serious by teachers in 1940 and 1927 with
the average ratings of both teachers and mental
hygienists.**[12]

Behavior item	AVERAGE RATING (From most to less serious)			
	Teachers		Mental hygienists	
	1940	*1927*	*1940*	*1927*
Heterosexual offenses	1	1	20	25
Stealing	2	2	5	13.5
Obscene notes	3	4	25	28.5
Cruelty	4	8	3	6
Untruthfulness	5	5	15	24
Masturbation	6	3	35	40
Lack of sociability	7	39.5	1	1
Destructiveness	8	10	22	44
Fearfulness	9	36	4	5
Cheating	10	9	16	23
Truancy	16	6	24	23
Defiance and Impertinence	21	7	33	36.5

the mental hygienists. Teachers were still most disturbed by be-
havior involving sex, property rights, and dishonesty, while mental
hygienists were most concerned with withdrawal and social rela-
tions. Although teachers were more concerned than formerly with
the socialization of the child, they did not place primary emphasis
on it in 1940. The traditional learning activity, uninterrupted by
immoral, destructive, or dishonest behavior, is still of prime impor-
tance to teachers.

One might summarize the teachers' expectation of the youth in
American schools with the comment that they expect the students

12 *Ibid.*, adapted from the data presented in the report. Reprinted by permission.

to learn whatever the teacher teaches.   Increasingly they expect the child to become a well-adjusted adult, but this is perhaps secondary to the academic learning considered essential by most teachers. The teacher also expects the child's behavior to conform to relatively rigid moral codes similar to the prevalent middle-class standards.

Expectations of parents.   Most American parents support the teachers in their expectations for their sons and daughters while in attendance at school.   In addition to the expectations noted in Chapter 3, parents have a wide range of anticipated results from the education of their children.   For the most part, these are to be achieved by the student's learning the things he is supposed to learn in school.   The content of this learning will not be so well understood by the average parent as it is by the teachers.   This is particularly true of parents who have received little formal education themselves.   Even these parents expect the child to learn the three R's and other subjects while he is in school.   For them, continuation in school and mastery of the more advanced subjects may be less important.   Parents generally expect John and Mary to acquire the traditional skills and knowledge.   The school is therefore a place where the teachers are expected to teach the youth certain types of information and skill.   Johnny's failure to learn is evidence that the teacher and the school are not doing their jobs.

In a similar way the parents expect the teacher to maintain discipline.   Again this means that behavior that interferes with the learning process is not appropriate.   For the parents, however, this is not always the student's responsibility.   Although he will not formally support the child if he whispers, makes unnecessary noise, or otherwise misbehaves, the parent frequently expects the child to engage in as much of these forbidden, but not immoral, activities as the teacher permits.

In other words, from the parents' point of view, the teacher is responsible for defining the limits of acceptable behavior and for maintaining classroom discipline so that the desired learning may occur.   Parents from different segments of society, particularly middle- and lower-class parents, have different codes for evaluating behavior that disturbs the classroom.   Middle-class parents are likely to support the expectations of the teachers for the most part.

Lower-class parents may not expect the same type of behavior with regard to sexual activity, respect for property, or school attendance.

Although parents and teachers have essentially the same general expectations of students, the former frequently have a decidedly different image of what they expect of their son or daughter in a specific instance. Middle-class, or upwardly mobile parents, often expect their children to reach levels of achievement or to participate in activities the teachers do not consider attainable in the particular cases. As we noted earlier, this is more likely to occur when special scholastic honors or privileges are involved or when there is a position in the band, chorus, or athletic team to be filled. Such situations may create a conflict of role expectations between the teacher and parents. It is sometimes difficult for the child to resolve such conflicts successfully, for the prestige and self-esteem of both teacher and parents may be at stake in the situation.

Except for such special cases and some differences between teachers oriented toward the middle class and parents of lower status, the expectations of the two adult groups tend to reinforce each other. The lower-class parent is seldom in a position to express his divergent views, and therefore may verbally support the expectations of the teachers. The general social climate and the values of the family group may define, in other ways, a set of expectations involving less book learning and the need to get a paying job at the earliest possible moment. The learning that the teacher considers important may be considered of little value in the lives of the children. At the same time the parents expect the child to "mind" the teacher and to get along in school.

The incompatibility of the educational expectations of teachers and those of the community is illustrated by the remarks of a teacher in a lower-class neighborhood.

Many of these children don't realize the worth of an education. They have no desire to improve themselves. And they don't care much about school and schoolwork as a result. That makes it very difficult to teach them.

That kind of problem is particularly bad in a school like ————. That's not a very privileged school. It's very underprivileged, as a matter of fact. So we have a pretty tough element there, a bunch of bums, I might as well say it. That kind you can't teach at all. They don't want to be there at all, and so you can't do anything

with them. And even many of the others — they're simply indifferent to the advantages of education. So they're indifferent, they don't care about their homework.[13]

The personality adjustment of the child in the face of these incompatible expectations is not clearly known. Undoubtedly, it is difficult for some to maintain a satisfying personal orientation in the face of this conflict. Others seem to find a solution to it and are motivated to high levels of achievement at the same time.

Some teachers in schools where lower-class children are more numerous than others adjust their expectations to those of the parents. These teachers may prefer to teach in such communities because "less is expected of them" or because their own status is not threatened by the parent.[14] When this adjustment of the teachers' expectations occurs, the situation is essentially the same as that in middle-class schools. Conflict between parents' and teachers' anticipation disappears and the expectations of both are adjusted to the social climate of the community. In these situations the socialization of the child would presumably be in harmony with the culture of the community.

Expectations of the peer group.   In every school the expectations of one's fellow students are a major factor in the socialization process. In the early school years, the children generally internalize the definitions of the teacher, the parent, or both. There are cases in which this is not true, but when it is, the children's expectations reinforce those of the adults with whom they interact the most. At the secondary and higher education levels, the students may behave, and may expect their classmates to behave, in a manner decidedly different from that desired by the teachers or parents.

We have noted that the primary role which the teachers expect the student to assume is that of the learner. Students often assign this a secondary place in their range of activities. The achievement of good grades and success in algebra, history, or bookkeeping may interfere with, rather than add to, one's prestige with the

[13] Reported by Howard S. Becker, "Social-Class Variation in Teacher-Pupil Relationship," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* Vol. 25, 1952, p. 463. Reprinted by permission.

[14] The majority of the teachers in one such school indicated their preference for a position of this type. This statement is based on a study made by a graduate student at Michigan State.

other students. On many college campuses and in high-school corridors, the "curve raiser" or the "grind" is condemned. An outstanding student reported to the writer that she became aware of this conflict between good grades and the expectations of her classmates at the elementary-school level. Because of this she avoided discussion of her consistently high marks, and frequently gave incorrect answers to the teacher's questions in order to give friends the image of an average student. To many students in schools and colleges, average grades are the proper and most acceptable level of academic achievement. School failure is frowned upon, but is not the object of uncomplimentary barbs.

In contrast to this attitude about superior academic skill, students usually place a high value on the behavior that leads to pleasant and harmonious group relations. One high-school student expressed this in explaining why he quit running around with another fellow. "He was always spoiling everything for the rest of us. Whenever we had a chance for a free period, he would do something wrong, and then the teachers wouldn't let any of us have it." The student is expected to be sensitive to the wishes of the group and to go along with them in a congenial manner. There are numerous types of behavior that would be frowned upon for this reason. The disapproved behavior may vary from one community to another, but a general orientation to the group will commonly be found.[15]

Manifestation of the group orientation is found in many adolescent codes. One of the serious deviations from the norms is behavior that students call "snobbish." This was the reason given by most of her classmates for rejecting a junior high-school girl in a group studied by the writer. Carmen seemed to be clever, pleasant, nicely dressed, and otherwise attractive, but most of her classmates avoided her because they thought her "snobbish" and "stuck-up." The adolescent student is expected to be clever and talented and to display these talents, but at the same time he must know when the group thinks it appropriate to take the stage. The group did not like Carmen to say that she was clever, and smart, or

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[15] David Riesman's thesis that American character is becoming more "other-directed" is in harmony with this hypothesis. See Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd*. It seems to the writer that it is in the high school or college that the "other-directed" social character is most vividly portrayed and that personalities are molded for such a culture.

pretty. She was expected to let the group decide this and to be reluctant to accept such identification.

A second manifestation of the group orientation is the condemnation of those who deviate in either direction from the accepted moral and dating codes. School youth are not expected to be prudish, "overly nice," or self-righteous about matters of honesty, drinking, or sex, but open disregard of the accepted codes is even more seriously condemned. Dating behavior varies from one school to another, but in this phase also the student expects his classmates to know and to abide by the accepted rules of the game. If "going steady" is the prevalent pattern, the fellow who "shops around" is likely to be ostracized. In another school the couple who go steady may be identified as "drips" or "in love." In many schools dating outside the class or age group is also undesirable. One may frequently date in the next higher or lower age-grade, but "robbing the cradle" or dating "someone out-of-school" tends to lower the student's acceptability among his classmates.

One other indication of the importance of sensitivity to the group is the fact that students are expected to dress right. It is impossible to enumerate all the varieties of school fashions and fads, but there can be little doubt about the importance of knowing the currently acceptable dress. Any coed who does not wear white ankle socks on one campus is immediately labeled as odd or different. The students in a high school which we observed expressed this code by saying, "It doesn't matter what you wear, but you dare not be sloppy." Conformity in dress becomes important in the early elementary grades as well as in high school and college. No parent who has struggled with first-, second-, or third-grade boys over snowpants or overshoes will disregard the significance of the peer group in determining the style. To be too well dressed or overdressed is probably a more serious deviation in the school group than not to have "good enough" clothes. The latter case may be overlooked if the clothes are of the right kind and worn correctly.

In most schools the students expect their fellows to be interested in athletics, the band, and other out-of-class activities. Superior performance in such activities usually carries with it special prestige and popularity. Such persons generally must not "let it go to their heads," or they will be considered snobbish or said to "think

they are better than anybody else." If outstanding athletes retain their sensitivity or orientation to the group, they will be highly rated. There is some evidence that the same is true of outstanding students in the academic subjects. We have indicated that, unlike teachers, the students do not place high value on academic achievement. It is possible, however, for a superior student to be accepted by his fellows. If the honor-roll student is sensitive to the group and is a "regular fellow," he probably will not be condemned as a "brain." It is the student who permits academic pursuits to absorb his time and interfere with his group relations who is identified by such derogatory terms. One high-school boy explained this when he said, "Grades don't make any difference either way. It's getting along with the fellows that counts."

This suggests that the seemingly incompatible expectations of the teachers and the student peer-group may be reconciled. The student who has internalized the teachers' expectations and who has not learned that he can be a "learner" as the teacher desires and a good fellow at the same time may have an unhappy school life. There are many cases testifying to the fact that many students either do not know that both are possible or are unable to make the adjustment. Failure to meet the expectations of either the teachers or fellow students can produce a serious maladjustment in the socialization process.

Questions for Discussion

1. Draw on your experience of differences in codes of behavior in the schools. How do social class and other factors enter into the problem?
2. "There is an increasing opinion among educators that teachers should be selected for their understanding of children rather than for academic grades or ability to maintain strict discipline." What social problems are involved?
3. Would you expect a child to react more favorably to a group the academic level of which he could not reach but which was of his own age, or a younger group in which his own level was the norm? What are the complicating factors?
4. Discuss the differing expectations of the parent and the teacher as they affect the schoolroom.
5. How does the student group arrive at its collective judgment of

what is "right" in academic achievement?   Whose opinions in-
fluence the student?

6. How do the models which teachers present to youth vary from
    the more typical nonteacher adult models?

Suggestions for Further Reading

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PART V

The School in the Community

14. The Community Approach to Education[1]

IN THE PAST, AND EVEN TO SOME EXTENT IN THE present, many schools have operated as though they existed in a vacuum, apart from the community which nurtured them. Led by John Dewey, the movement for progressive education provided a needed corrective for the academic school, reducing its emphasis on discipline, rote memory, and abstract knowledge. The progressives stressed activity programs, education for life, and individual expression.

With the publication of the criticisms of George Counts and W. H. Kilpatrick,[2] and more recently of Edward G. Olsen and Lloyd A. Cook,[3] many educators became conscious of certain grave defects in the child-centered school of the progressive education group. Counts argued that the movement lacked social orientation and was characterized by extreme individualism or anarchy. Kilpatrick argued for community study and action, while Olsen and Cook gave leadership to the community approach to educational problems.

[1] This chapter was written by Orden C. Smucker.
[2] George Counts, *The Prospects of American Democracy,* New York: Day, 1938; and his *Education and the Promise of America,* New York: Macmillan, 1945; W. H. Kilpatrick, "The Underlying Philosophy of Co-operative Community Activities," *Socializing Experiences in the Elementary School,* Washington, D.C.: Department of Elementary School Principals, National Education Association, 1935.
[3] Edward G. Olsen, *School and Community,* New York: Prentice-Hall, 1945; Lloyd A. Cook, *Community Backgrounds of Education,* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938; Lloyd and Elaine F. Cook, *A Sociological Approach to Education,* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950.

ORIGIN AND PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL

Olsen pointed out that there is more difference between the progressive school and the community school than there is between the old traditional school and the progressive school.[4] As John Dewey suggested, the progressive school operated on a negative basis. Its program was developed on the basis of what it opposed rather than on a constructive philosophy of its own. The community school represents a logical outgrowth of the directions indicated in the progressive school. Under the leadership of the progressive education group, the schools have become more sensitive to life-relatedness and the needs and interests of the pupils.

The community school is sensitive to these factors, too, but goes beyond the needs of the pupil to give the educational pattern a social orientation. The curriculum is built around the major processes and problems of human living rather than the child's areas of interest. It believes in systematically serving the community and utilizing that community as a major educational resource rather than using it only incidentally as in past procedures. Children and adults alike are enlisted in projects of common interest and concern.

The transition from the old academic school to the more recent community emphasis might well be described as a movement from book-centered through child-centered to the current life-centered school. While it would be unrealistic to claim that all schools have gone through this growth, there is sufficient evidence to say that, in various degrees, the schools now reflect community needs. Some of the major characteristics of the traditional, the progressive, and the community schools are shown in Table XXIV.

TABLE X X I V .   **American school orientation**

	Traditional school	**Progressive school**	**Community school**
Major orientation	Book centered	Child centered	Life centered
Concept of child	All children much the same; concept of average child	No two children alike; individual differences	Individual differences related to most effective community participation

[4] Olsen, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

	Traditional school	Progressive school	Community school
Concept of human nature	Child naturally bad	Child naturally good	Child neither good nor bad; environmental conditioning
Major child motivations	Discipline	Individual achievement	Group achievement
Teacher's role	Assign lessons and hear recitation	Direct learning process for most effective individual expression	Direct learning process for most effective group participation
Methods	Memorization	Individual spontaneity	Group responsibility
	Cover subject matter	Participate in group planning	Group planning geared to community concerns
	Mastery of facts and skills	Problem solving	Grappling with solutions to community problems
	Development of abstract intelligence	Development of creative responsibility	Development of responsible community participation
Curriculum	Rigid curriculum; discipline subjects	Flexible curriculum based on areas of interest	Flexible curriculum based on social process and community needs
Relation to social action	No interest in social action; authoritative approach	Life-experience approach to fit student for future social action	Training and experience in community action programs
Relation to life activities	Unimportant	Major emphasis but mainly individual life activities	Major emphasis but mainly in community activities
Relation to local community	Ignored completely	Utilized incidentally	Given major emphasis
Notion of social order	Fit child into existing social order; teach for status quo	Education for a more democratic social order	Education for more democratic social order starting in local community
Measurement of outcomes and achievement	Standard tests of learning based on subject matter mastery	Subject matter plus personality values; need new testing devices	Subject matter and personality values plus achievement in community information and participation

An experimental community-school program.   The focus on the community in the community school is much more than academic. While discussion of community problems occupies an important place in the curriculum, the community school tends to implement this discussion with social action.   In turn the action program tends to produce curricular modifications with the result of continuous interaction between school and community agencies.   Not all community schools assume the social action leadership shown by one of the schools participating in the Michigan Community School Service Program.[5]   The program shows how a community and a school can link their educational and service activities together into a co-operative pattern.

> The first problem in organizing the Stephenson area for action was to sell the general public on the idea of community self-help. The board of education had the conviction that any community can and will improve its quality of living in all phases of community life if latent leadership is discovered and motivated.   It felt that the school system represented one of the most influential social agencies in the community and that it should assume the leadership in the development of the Stephenson Community School Service Program.
>
> The board selected community leaders and met with them in small groups.   Community self-help was discussed with members of each group to determine their views.   The majority of the community leaders were eager to give their time and energy to a plan designed to make the Stephenson community a better place in which to live.
>
> A meeting representing fifty-two social, economic, civic, and religious agencies was held.   A temporary steering committee was organized to write a constitution for a community organization of self-help.
>
> The constitution was written and adopted at a subsequent meeting.   The community organization was known as the Stephenson Community Co-ordinating Council composed of representatives from every social, economic, civic, and religious agency in the com-

[5] An experimental program in eight small Michigan communities with leadership from the State Department of Public Instruction, and partially subsidized by the Kellogg Foundation.   This research program attempted to discover answers to the question of how a public school can identify its service efforts in the most effective manner with the solution of community problems.   The study represents an effort to relate public education to the daily living of the young and old people, alike, who inhabit the communities.   Currently there are twenty-five additional community school service programs included in the study.

munity.   An executive committee and officers were elected by the council to act as a steering committee.

The superintendent of schools, or someone appointed by the board of education, was to act as the executive secretary.   The Council felt that the school administrator was in a position to be of great service in any plan for community betterment.

Statement of Purpose

The community organization, to be known as the Stephenson Community Co-ordinating Council, and which would sponsor the Community School Service Program, agreed on the following general objectives:

To promote co-operative efforts of all of the community organizations and of the citizens in making the community a better place in which to live;

To co-ordinate, on a voluntary basis, the efforts of the existing community agencies and individuals to meet more effectively the needs of the community;

To encourage community surveys to determine local resources, conditions, and needs;

To train leaders and to encourage democratic action in meeting the needs of the community through the legal and established community agencies.

The proposed organization enlisted the support of persons of all ages from all walks of life with varied interest in suggesting ways and means of improving the quality of living.   It studied and proposed solutions of community problems to the existing agencies which had funds and legal jurisdiction for action.

Committee Membership and Shared Responsibility

Seven problem-study committees were organized: namely, Education, Healthful Living, Community Services, Trade and Industry, Religious Life, Farm and Land Use, and Home and Family Living. Any community problem could be channeled to one of the problem-study committees for consideration.

Membership on the problem-study committee was voluntary and unlimited in number.   The Religious Life Committee began with a membership of twenty-six; the Education Committee had twenty-seven.   When a committee studied a community problem and was ready for some action, a small committee of from three to

five persons was appointed by the parent committee and became known as the action committee. For example, the Education Problem-Study Committee studied and carried on research on the feasibility of providing public library facilities for the community. Much evidence was secured that the library facilities in the Stephenson area could be improved by moving the County Library, which was located in a neighboring city at the extreme end of the county, to the village of Stephenson.

A Library Action Committee of three persons was appointed to approach the proper legal authorities and to determine what could be accomplished. The Action Committee held conferences with the Menominee County Library Board, the Stephenson Township Board, and the Stephenson Village Council, and in the course of six months had the county library moved from the city to the village of Stephenson so as to serve the entire county better. The same procedure was used for numerous action committees. The action committees remained intact only long enough to carry the problem to a satisfactory solution.

The secretary of each problem-study committee keeps a detailed record of all transactions, and a copy of the minutes is mailed to the executive secretary. This enables him to keep in touch with the whole program and to discover duplication of effort. For instance, the Farm and Land Use Committee decided to study the health conditions of the rural people. The Health Committee suggested the problem about the same time. The problem was discussed by the officers of both committees and it was decided to allow the Health Committee to initiate the study with the co-operation of the Farm and Land Use Committee.

The school building and its facilities are in constant use by the problem-study committees. Approximately 175 persons are members of the seven problem-study committees which meet at least once a month to study community problems.

The Michigan Department of Public Instruction willingly cooperated with the problem-study committees and Council Officers in supplying consultative and technical services and in motivating the community to action by offering opportunities for the inhabitants to participate in: (1) trips outside of the community to study community progress; (2) state conferences and workshops on leadership training techniques; (3) scholarships to institutions of higher learning to study community problems; and (4) scientific surveys to discover community needs and problems.

Overview of Accomplishment

The program has now been in operation for over three years. Approximately fifty projects of minor and of major importance have been completed to enrich the lives of the community folks. A complete and detailed report is published each year. A sampling of the projects completed by each committee follows:

Education Committee

1. Established new library quarters in the village of Stephenson.
2. Enriched and vitalized the school curriculum by introducing new units of instruction:
    a. Course for junior-high girls in baby-sitting, and
    b. Noon-hour recreation program for transported pupils.
3. Organized core curriculum for junior high-school students.
4. Established outdoor education camp for elementary and secondary pupils.
5. Promoted community work experience projects.

Home and Family Living Committee

1. Assisted the school in organizing a unit of study on "Preparation for Family Living," with specific reference to marriage problems and sex instruction.
2. Conducted a course in "Home and Landscaping."
3. Sponsored forums and panel discussions on many problems relating to home and family living.

Recreation Committee

1. Organized a summer recreation program with a full-time director.
2. Promoted recreational activities to satisfy needs of all persons in all seasons of the year.
3. Constructed new swimming pool.

Community Services Committee

1. Initiated long-term improvement of Shady Lakes Park area.
2. Sponsored institutes for elective officials.
3. Erected new road signs in village.
4. Co-operated with village to promote construction of a new bridge over river.

Religious Life Committee

1. Organized community choir for persons of all religious denominations.
2. Completed census of all persons to determine extent of religious affiliation.
3. Promoted campaign to reserve Wednesday evenings for home or religious activities.
4. Promoted operetta with all churches co-operating.
5. Organized classes in religious instruction for various age groups in respective churches.

Farm and Land Use Committee

1. Assisted organization of preschool conference for teachers on soil conservation.
2. Organized a Soil Conservation Field Day for Upper Peninsula, which attracted 2,500 persons.
3. Organized a county-wide Artificial Breeders Association.

Health Committee

1. Initiated plan for blood-typing of all community residents on voluntary basis.
2. Developed a Medical Loan Closet for public use. (Books and materials used for health purposes.)
3. Promoted educational campaigns for tuberculosis X-rays.
4. Encouraged board of education to have school cooks and bus drivers submit to physical examinations annually.[6]

Resistance to community education.   This emerging trend in contemporary education is not proceeding everywhere with the same degree of acceptance. As a matter of fact, there are many vociferous critics of community-oriented education. Powerful voices in the community seem to insist on a return to the "fundamentals," where memory, discipline, and subject matter occupy the central focus. In the academic community, too, some scholars are perturbed by the modern educational yardsticks of reality, vitality, utility, and practicability.

In some communities the conservative and liberal educational groups engage in healthy debates in which issues are clarified and

[6] Adapted from Joseph B. Gucky and Herbert Corey, "A Community Organizes To Help Itself," *Educational Leadership,* Vol. 7, 1950, pp. 388–392. Reprinted by permission.

desired definitions secured.   The procedure ranges from informal barbershop discussion to formal community forums.   In other instances, the debates become hostile and the discussions bitter.   In such an atmosphere, discussion degenerates into recrimination, and the entire picture becomes confused.   Liberal educators have become somewhat disturbed over organized efforts of some groups [7] to label progressive educational effort as subversive.   They cast suspicion on many devoted and intelligent teachers who have departed from traditional procedures in an attempt to imbue the educational process with vitality and reality.

Reality in community education.   Despite the resistance of those who take the traditional point of view, the community *orientation to education* is receiving considerable attention.   This is true because it is recognized that community study, understanding, and participation are fundamental prerequisites for effective participation in any society.   The child must be taken out of the sheltered classroom into the active community.   This is the child's locus of past, present, and future life activity.   If education is to have any note of realism, the curriculum must be framed in terms of firsthand acquaintance with the immediate environment of the child. Cook stated the value of the community approach to education from two viewpoints, the sociological and the educational:

From the sociological standpoint, the local social world contains in some form or another all the factors and processes found in the larger society.   Unlike this more abstract concept, the community has concrete reality.   It is neither too large nor too small, too far away nor too near at hand, to have meaning for the student.   Its life and structure can be analyzed with some assurance that the elements will not slip through one's grasp.   Finally, it is the place we know most about and in which we are most at home. . . .

From the educational standpoint, the local social world is the fundamental unit of learning and teaching.   It is the child's greatest educator, for in it he comes of age.   It inducts him into its forms and norms of life, its groups and associations, and thus affects his school achievement in countless ways.   It is the chief source of life materials for the teacher.   It is the world to which she must

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[7] See Arthur D. Morris, "Who Is Trying To Ruin our Schools?" *McCall's Magazine,* Vol. 98, 1951, p. 12, for a discussion of several organized groups whose objectives and methods are controversial.

make a personal adjustment, the world that in the last analysis determines her success or failure. It sets an endless array of problems for the school administrator, seeks to dictate the school's program and to pass final judgment on its outcomes. It is the area in which state and national policies must be executed, the area that gives or withholds financial support for all phases of the educational program.[8]

On these premises, then, a fundamental criterion of teacher effectiveness and skill should be the ability to understand, to appraise, to interpret, and to utilize the community. It is important that a teacher come to his task with experience in community participation and action, have some concept of the meaning of community, and be sensitive to the resources in the community which can be used to educational advantage. It is also imperative for the teacher to have some training and skill in guiding children into an increased understanding and creative participation in the life of the community.

THE MEANING OF COMMUNITY

Concurrent with the increased interest of educators in the utilization of the community as an integral part of the educative process is the increasing attention being given to the community concept as a sociological tool.

It is not easy to visualize what communities are or how they work, since societal behavior cannot be seen directly. What we see in a general way is a lot of people hurrying about, going about their business with little consciousness of what others are doing or how that behavior relates to the community as a whole. In other words there seems to be very little organization in this seeming confusion and chaos.

However, the careful student of community life does see order in these activities of people. He does see a degree of organization and a systematic integration of activities functioning so as to meet the needs of individuals and groups in the community. Only that portion of behavior which has reference to the common life can properly be designated as community behavior. There are variations in the patterns of activities according to time and place, but

[8] Lloyd A. and Elaine F. Cook, *Community Backgrounds of Education,* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950, pp. 13–14. Reprinted by permission.

the social relations of communities everywhere are characterized by the common interests and activities of the geographic area.

In other words, the community has a spatial placement, which means that it can be bounded and mapped. More important is the consciousness of locality and sharing of a common culture. This is an important part of Cook's definition of a community: "a population aggregate, inhabiting a contiguous territory, integrated through common experience, possessing a number of basic service institutions, conscious of its local unity, and able to act in a corporate capacity." [9]   This definition will serve our discussion of the community.

TYPES OF COMMUNITIES

Some foreign observers have remarked that American culture is so standardized that American communities manifest a monotonous sameness. This, of course, is not true, since it overlooks the complicated social designs which stamp on a community its real character to a much greater extent than architecture, layout of streets, or other physical characteristics. Actually, in America there are communities with a variety of functions, sizes, orientations, and social compositions. [10]

Probably the most obvious difference in communities is in size. Size is an important factor in determining the way of life in any community. In the smaller communities, where social relationships are based on close face-to-face relationships of the *Gemeinschaft* character described in the previous chapter, life is much different from that in the large urban areas. In the *Gesellschaft* community, the relationships are civil or contractual, and secondary contacts predominate. Increasingly, Americans live in the *Gesellschaft* type of community rather than the *Gemeinschaft*. The problems, the ways of life, the ethos of each type of community are quite different from those of the other.

Recent census data have shown several interesting trends which must be evaluated if community life is to be understood. One is the emergence of rural nonfarm population as a major demographic unit. More people are moving to the amorphous, rather ill-defined

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[9] Lloyd Cook, *op. cit.,* p. 27.
[10] See Jessie Bernard, *American Community Behavior,* New York: Dryden Press, 1949, Chap. 2, for a detailed description of community types.

settlements on the fringe of cities.   The usual service institutions of incorporated towns are not found in these settlements.   This has created problems for the schools, churches, and other agencies.

In addition to size, communities can be classified by function. Industrial cities differ significantly from resort, mining, fishing, university, or capital cities, and the rural trading community certainly differs from the exclusive residential suburb.   The major service function of a community tends to determine its social system and its unique way of life.

UNDERSTANDING THE COMMUNITY

Of peculiar importance to an understanding of the community is its value system and power structure.   By value system we mean the hierarchy of objects or situations with relative degrees of worth to the people.   By power system we refer to the arrangement of authority in the community.

The value system and power structure are of tremendous importance to school people.   If teachers and administrators do not understand the customs and traditions of the community, and the relative values assigned to various objects, it is very easy to make mistakes, and thus antagonize a community because sacred codes have been violated.

Value system in the community.   Important in every community is the configuration of national values with particular values selected by the community for emphasis.   No two communities sharing the larger value scheme have exactly the same sets of values. Each community arranges these according to its own concept of importance, and each community also has a few of its own values to defend and to cherish.

A comparison of two small Midwestern cities located within a hundred miles of each other illustrates how communities select widely differing sets of values.

> A small city, which we shall call Collegetown, is a rapidly growing suburb, populated mainly by three major types of occupational groupings: (1) business managers and industrial executives; (2) staff people associated with the local university; and (3) state and federal government employees.   Each group symbolizes sets of values which, in part, are in opposition to one another and compete

for dominance in the community. The business group feels the impact of the university group, particularly in the athletic program, the entertainment series, and, to a lesser extent, the more liberal social attitudes of the professors. In like manner the college section of the community absorbs some of the sophistication in dress, morals, and attitudes of the business community. In total orientation, the community blends the divergent behavior patterns and social attitudes into an urban, upper-middle-class social system.

By contrast we note a different value orientation in a nearby community, of similar size, which we shall designate as Tulipville. Of predominant Dutch extraction, this community reflects the conservative political, moral, and social attitudes of the Old Country. The religious doctrines of Calvinism and predestination are basic to the behavioral and attitudinal systems of the community. The child, growing up in this community, meets a fairly consistent configuration of values. Starting with the family and with continued emphasis by church, school, and community, the strict Calvinistic ethic is incorporated into the behavior, attitudes, and sentiments of the young people. The consistency of the social impact and cultural transmission is aided by the unusually high degree of ethnic, religious, and cultural homogeneity. The growing child is confronted continuously with religious activity as manifested in Sunday blue laws, religious mottoes on public buildings, strict family discipline, highly attended midweek prayer meetings, and until recently, religious exercises in the public schools.

Thus, these two communities train their children in different ways. The varied cultural bases, the different value orientations, the unlike emphasis on things considered important, and the dissimilar views on life goals in these two communities have different effects on growing personalities.

To give us greater perspective about the source of the value scheme of the local community, let us examine the broad value orientations of American society. Robin Williams has provided a useful summary of the more important configurations:

1. Achievement and Success. There is central stress in American culture on personal achievement, particularly secular occupational success.
2. Love of Bigness. Better is presumed to be implied by "bigger." Our culture has had a history of expansionism in which increasing size, population, and territory have special value.

3. Activity and Work. This is a country of haste, bustle and activity. Work is a compulsion and high value is placed on the good worker.

4. Moral Orientation. Most observers and researchers on the American scene agree to the moral orientation of the culture. This does not mean mere conformity to the prescriptions of the moral code but to a moral orientation by which the behavior is judged. The typical American thinks in terms right or wrong, good or bad, ethical or unethical.

5. Humanitarian Mores. There is in America an emphasis on disinterested concern and helpfulness, including personal kindliness, aid and comfort, mass aid for disasters, community aid for underprivileged, organized philanthropy, et cetera.

6. Efficiency and Practicality. Foreign observers have been impressed by our "efficiency." Technological innovation, mass production, practicality, expediency, and getting things done all are valued facets of our society.

7. Progress. This is a prime article of faith in American culture. The unquestioned assumption is that new is better than old and the future is still better. "Outmoded" and "old-fashioned" have very negative connotations.

8. Material Comfort. The material comforts are taken for granted, possibly even to the extent of Siegfried's observations that Americans "consider it only natural that their slightest whim should be gratified." [11]

9. Equality. Although this value is put to strain by actual experience, there is a persistent avowal of "equality" in American society. This is not undiscriminating equalitarianism but rather an emphasis on social rights and equality of opportunity.

10. Freedom. Opinion polls indicate that freedom is most mentioned as the greatest advantage of the American system of government.

11. External Conformity. European observers are much impressed by the American value of conformity. Men universally seek the approval of some of their fellows and therefore try to be "successful" by some shared standard.

12. Science and Secular Rationality. Applied science is highly esteemed as a tool. The emphasis on science has reflected the rationalistic-individualistic tradition.

13. Nationalism–Patriotism. All societies are, to some extent,

[11] André Siegfried, *America Comes of Age,* New York: J. Cape, 1927, quoted in Robin Williams, *ibid.,* p. 407.

ethnocentric, but loyalty to the American way is an important value and "un-Americanism" is akin to treason.

14. Democracy.   This is a highly complex and derivative value. This is a very integral part of the American credo.   What the Kluckhohns have called the "cult of the common man" [12] was a major expression of the democratic ethos.

15. Individual Personality.   This value stresses the extreme importance of the development of individual personality and correspondingly is averse to the invasion of individual integrity. [13]

These characteristic American national values are recognizable in any community.   Tradition and locality circumstances cause communities to evaluate these customs and mores differently.   For example, suburban communities like Grosse Point, Michigan, or Lake Forest, Illinois, would stress the values of achievement, success, and material comfort more than would Jonesville, [14] which adopts as ultimate certain moral values and a strict Lutheran interpretation of man's existence.

While communities do display a predominant pattern or locality ethos which gives them a stamp of uniqueness, at the same time a rather wide range of values is manifested within the community. These values clamor for recognition, and the hierarchical ranking of the values represents the relative esteem or worth assigned them by the community.

Thus, Collegetown and Tulipville do demonstrate a locality uniqueness, but at the same time show a rather wide range of values within the immediate community social system.   Although a particular religious, economic, political, or moral viewpoint comes to be defined as the dominant one in these communities, there is usually a struggle among competing value systems for this recognition. For example, school board elections often involve issues which could be broadly labelled progressive-traditional.   And in both these communities, there are strong adherents for both the labor and management points of view.

[12] Clyde and Florence Kluckhohn, "American Culture: Generalized Orientations and Class Patterns," in Lyman Bryson, *et al.,* (eds.), *Conflicts of Power in Modern Culture,* New York: Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion, 1948, pp. 106–128.

[13] Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society,* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1952, Chap. 11.   Reprinted by permission.

[14] W. Lloyd Warner, *et al., Democracy in Jonesville,* New York: Harper & Bros., 1949, pp. 168–169.

The religious elements range all the way from highly emotional sects to ultraliberal, humanistic groups. In Collegetown, liberal religious views prevail,[15] while in Tulipville, the most widely accepted view is based on a conservative Calvinistic theology.[16] Thus, in the typical American community the varied cultural backgrounds and social experiences give rise to varied value systems. In some instances these dissimilar value orientations give rise to overt clashes. The desire, however, to live together tends to produce at least an external conformity.

Power system in the community.   Every community has a power system with an arrangement of various kinds and degrees of authority. Power refers to the ability or authority to dominate or to compel action. There are people or groups in every community who make important decisions and have the ability to enforce them. This is an inevitable community social process, for without power, and therefore control, it would be impossible to have social order.

Communities at all times face the problems of power, its uses and abuses, its location, its nature. Questions of genuine concern often arise when unscrupulous groups in a given community occupy positions of power and are able to dictate public policy. The Kefauver reports [17] were replete with instances of collusion between crime and politics. Another item of concern is the legitimate group which exercises such a disproportionate amount of power that the total welfare of the community is damaged.

One cannot understand a community until he is able to locate the sources of power. The power system in Middletown [18] was headed by the rich and powerful Ball family dynasty. The influence of this family extended into almost every part of community life — government, banks, industries, stores, public schools, the State Teachers College named after the family, churches, radio, the press, and elsewhere.

Much of the power in a community is in the formal govern-

[15] Based on a survey of religious attitudes and behavior directed by the writer through the facilities of the Social Research Service of Michigan State College.
[16] Based on comments of graduate students in the writer's extension classes taught in Tulipville.
[17] Report of the Special Senate Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Inter-State Commerce, United States Senator Estes Kefauver, Tennessee, Chairman, May 1, 1951.
[18] Robert and Helen Lynd, *Middletown*, and *Middletown in Transition,* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1929, 1939.

mental and economic institutions.   Some of the power is unofficial, perhaps based on informal recognition of tradition and prestige. This may be seen in the casual comment, the shrug of the shoulder, the inflection of the voice, or the facial expression; decisions affecting the entire community may be made under informal circumstances at a poker game, luncheon, or party.

School people need to know the sources of power and need to have the support of the dominant power groups in the community if the school program is to function smoothly.   The disastrous result was seen in Elmtown [19] when the community's dominant power system refused to support adequate taxation which would have enabled the school to meet the minimum standards imposed by the North Central Association.   Consequently the school lost its rating by the association.

STUDYING YOUR COMMUNITY

One of the most fruitful of student exercises is the research of respective communities.   Although these studies lack the finesse and depth of the more detailed inquiries of professional sociologists, they do contain some interesting and significant revelations on community life.   Sociologists have not agreed on any standard pattern of community analysis.   A community may be studied with special emphasis on its minority groups, its techniques for meeting health needs, its social stratification, ecological structure, political behavior, religious behavior, planning, crime and police action, and industrial relation.[20]

In addition we have an abundant literature dealing with com-

[19] August B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth,* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
[20] W. B. Brookover and J. B. Holland, "An Inquiry into Minority Group Attitude Expression," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 17, 1952, pp. 196–202; James Weldon Johnson, *Black Manhattan,* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1930; Charles P. Loomis, "A Co-operative Health Association in Spanish-Speaking Villages," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 10, 1945, pp. 149–157; W. L. Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946; M. C. Hill and B. C. McCall, "Social Stratification in Georgetown," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 15, 1950, pp. 721–730; Raymond V. Bowers, "Ecological Patterning of Rochester, New York," *ibid.,* Vol. 4, 1939, pp. 180–189; Charles E. Merriam, *Chicago, A More Intimate View of Urban Politics,* New York: Macmillan, 1929; Orden C. Smucker, "A Study of Religious Behavior and Attitudes in East Lansing, Michigan," unpublished MS. in the files of the Social Research Service, Michigan State College, East Lansing; W. H. Form, "Status Stratification in a Planned Community," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 5, 1940, pp. 605–613; Conrad M. Arensberg, "Industry and the Community," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 48, 1942; Frank Tannenbaum, *Crime and the Community,* Boston: Ginn, 1938.

munities of varying sizes, for which the authors used the case study, life history, or statistical approaches to obtain a general picture. Typical studies are those of Plainville by James West,[21] of several villages and towns by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics,[22] and of Prairie Town,[23] Yankee City,[24] Middletown,[25] and Chicago,[26] by various researchers.

The following items, which are common to all communities, are suggested as a pattern for community analysis:

1. *General impression.* This would orient the reader to the type of community and the general impression given to the observer.

2. *Demographic characteristics.* Population statistics, trends, composition, and characteristics would be noted under this heading.

3. *Ecological pattern.* The community's geographic limits, spatial distribution of people, and the location of buildings and service institutions are important in community analysis.

4. *Historical backgrounds.* This refers not to the chronological description of the conventional historian, but rather to the life history analysis used by sociologists and anthropologists. Growth cycles and significant developmental events in the community's past are brought to attention.

5. *Life activities.* The categories of analysis used in the Middletown studies are useful at this point. Life activities refer to the behaviors engaged in by the people largely within the pattern of institutional structure. They include such factors as (a) making a living, (b) home and family life, (c) health and physical well-being, (d) training the young, (e) spending leisure time, (f) getting information, (g) religious behavior, (h) politics, law and order, (i) social class, and (j) the world outside.

6. *Value system.* Every community has a system of values which,

[21] James West, *Plainville, U.S.A.,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1945.
[22] The *Rural Life Studies* of El Cerito, N. Mex.; Sublette, Kansas; Landaff, N. H.; Irwin, Iowa; Harmony, Ga.; and the Old Order Amish community of Lancaster, Penna.
[23] John Useem, *et al.,* "Stratification in Prairie Town," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 45, 1940, pp. 841–862.
[24] W. L. Warner, *et al., The Social Life of a Modern Community,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.
[25] Robert and Helen Lynd, *Middletown;* and *Middletown in Transition, op. cit.*
[26] Harvey Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929.

in total effect, represents a hierarchy of objects having different degrees of worth to the people. The people believe these objects help to satisfy human desires.

7. *Power system.* Every community has a system of power relations arranged in a hierarchy. Power is the ability to dominate or to compel action. The power system is of crucial importance to the school.

8. *Impact of regional and national culture.* No community is a self-contained cultural unit; there are countless ways which regional subculture and the national culture fuse with the culture of the local community.

9. *Community "characters."* While not an integral part of community analysis, the local "characters" are an interesting aspect for describing one's community. We are referring here to colorful local personalities who because of dramatic, unusual, or deviant personal behavior patterns attract attention. They become a part of the living lore of community behavior.

10. *Miscellaneous.* There are other special characteristics of communities which should be included in a community analysis.

HOW SCHOOLS RELATE TO THE COMMUNITY

In the days when schools were designed primarily for the intellectual elite, there was little need for community-centered education. The principal requirement placed on the school was preparation for college. With the passage of compulsory attendance laws, the masses of people looked to the school for fulfillment of other needs. This set the stage for the life-centered school and gave to the school the primary task of preparing young people for more effective living and participation in the activities of their own communities. The educational institution was somewhat slow in responding to this new social need, but it is now clear that consciousness of the community is being given a more significant place in the educational world.

Child and community.   Like the town of Kings Row [27] in Henry Bellamann's novel, a real community has its peculiar impact on the growing child, educating him in a thousand ways. Community culture is at once universal and unique.

[27] Henry Bellamann, *Kings Row,* Simon & Schuster, 1940.

In the externals, Kings Row was much like other small borderline Southwestern and Midwestern communities with church steeples, an abundance of elms, oaks, and maples, neat lawns with foliage plants, the business district, and the town's special pride — the school building. But beneath this visible structure was the less visible network of social relationships from which emerges the real social learning of the child.

The social-class prescriptions were well understood as were the racial lines. The town was reaching out aggressively toward the respectability of cityhood and insisted upon conformity to its mores with a brutality which crushed anyone who did not measure up to its codes.

Thus the community defines the social situations for the young, and develops techniques for coercing them into acceptance of the folkways and mores. The child grows up in the community which provides ready answers to the important questions of life. The impact is more directly observable and the definitions of social situations are clearer in the smaller, *Gemeinschaft* type of community. In the larger, *Gesellschaft* type, the community impact is strong, but a wider range of choice is presented to the growing child.

The culture of the community is continuously impressed and imposed on the young by the family, school, and peer groups. Parents constantly define social expectations by their disapproval of deviant behavior. By praising approved behavior, the parents guide their young into channels defined by the community codes.

Neighborhood as educator. That portion of the community known as the neighborhood provides immediate experience in the codes of behavior of community life. Here we have the social control of gossip and "face-to-face insistence on sticking to the moral code." [28] In other words, the neighborhood operates both as a unit of social control and as an agency providing social definition.

The neighborhood is the first extrafamily social influence received by the child. Here he explores the sights, sounds, personalities and words of a new and larger group. The "little tyrant" may learn that his tyranny is not as successful outside the home as it is indoors. Co-operative play behavior learned at home, how-

[28] Niles Carpenter, "Neighborhood," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences,* Vol. 11, p. 357.

ever, can be carried over in the new setting, among neighborhood peers. But the child must revise his behavioral system to meet new demands.

In recent decades studies in delinquency by Healy, Bronner, Shaw, Thrasher, Whyte, Teeters, and Reinmann have thrown considerable light upon the impact of the community on the child.[29] Clear indications are given of the propensity of certain ecological areas of a community to promote delinquency. Social definitions and values of a community are reflected in the behavior of the children.

Children are quick to see the actual values, as against the professed values, in the community life and take their cues from adults. Statistical correlations show high positive relationships between the moral climate of a community or an area within a community and the behavior of the children in that community.

The curriculum and the community. Although there has been a shift in the educational philosophy from a subject-centered to a community-experience-centered school, the subject curriculum still remains the dominant type. Each subject field stands as a more or less isolated vertical sequence of learning materials leading from one year to the next.

"Ground covering" has been the guiding principle of curriculum construction. A student coming in from another school has his record carefully checked. He is classified for future work on the basis of work or "ground" covered. The credit and unit system of subjects was developed to meet college entrance requirements, which still tend to be based largely on specific subject-matter units.

Similar emerging developments, to counter the traditional subject-matter entrance requirements, are contained in programs such as the College Agreement Program in Michigan and the experimental programs at Columbia University and Brooklyn College, which credit life-experience and maturity as qualifications for ad-

[29] William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *New Light on Delinquency,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936; Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay, *Juvenile Delinquency in Urban Areas,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942; Frederic Thrasher, *The Gang,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, new ed., 1936; William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943; Negley Teeters and John Reinmann, *The Challenge of Delinquency,* New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950.

mission.   In Michigan the colleges and universities have entered into an agreement with the secondary schools to accept students recommended by the high-school principals, regardless of the students' subject-matter backgrounds.   According to the college and secondary-school officials in charge of the arrangement, entrance programs of this type tend to free the high-school curriculum from the domination of traditional subject matter and to allow a greater flexibility for curriculum construction in meeting individual and social needs in the community.

In New York, Columbia University and Brooklyn College are experimenting with a new theory of admissions for adults who lack formal educational training in the secondary schools.   The programs are based on the assumption that mature men and women, with experience and self-education in business and professional life, can qualify for college work at least as well as those persons who meet the traditional entrance requirements.

After a four-year experimental period, Columbia University has announced that the plan has proved so successful that it will be expanded.   Brooklyn College started its program more recently and is being aided in the study by a grant from the Ford Foundation fund for adult education.[30]

Whether these practices of altering traditional subject-matter requirements for college entrance will emerge into a trend is not certain.   Many college administrators feel that proper subject-matter foundations are necessary for the successful pursuit of college work, and that such requirements help to insure high standards.

The large mass of young people now attending school need more than a college-entrance curriculum.   Certainly, the subject matter of the traditional school is needed.   Consciousness of the child as emphasized by the progressive school is also important.   Imperative, too, is the community school's emphasis on the problems of co-operative living in the immediate community.   All three emphases, each transmitted in terms of present needs, can be incorporated into the curriculum.

Critics of the community approach to education have objected

[30] For more details on these two programs, see Benjamin Fine, "Education in Review," *The New York Sunday Times,* December 5, 1954.

that this gives a narrow and provincial definition to the educational process. No community, of course, is an isolated cultural unit. There are thousands of ways in which every community is touched by regional, national, and even international influences. Every local community is inextricably bound up with these wider social forces. It is conceived as the starting point for social understanding and certainly not as the terminal. Local community study, therefore, is related to the larger areas of region, nation, and the world at large.

Several approaches have been taken to relate the curriculum more vitally to the community. Numerous schools have centered their curricula in studies of community structure, processes, and problems. Many of the schools use a core curriculum based on the direct study of community and regional processes and activities. Features of the emerging community school stand out especially in the curricula at Pine Mountain, Kentucky; Norris, Tennessee; the Tappan School of Ann Arbor, Michigan; and the Lincoln School of Evansville, Indiana,[31] to mention but a few.

It would be unrealistic to believe that such a drastic reorganization in the curriculum as is evidenced in these community schools will be immediately forthcoming. These schools are pointing the way to a type of education which is more directly related to everyday community behavior. Teachers everywhere, in traditional as well as in activity schools, could include community projects within the curriculum and vitalize their own courses by incorporating community experience and study.[32]

UTILIZATION OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES

Practically every teacher, regardless of educational philosophy, knows something of the possibilities of using local libraries, museums, and factories for resource materials in the teaching situation. Beyond an occasional visit or similar use, few explore community resources in any systematic fashion.

Before a school can utilize the resources in the community,

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[31] For detailed description of the curricula of these community schools see Harold Spears, *The Emerging High-School Curriculum and Its Direction,* New York: American Book Co., 1940.

[32] Many suggestions with techniques, study guides, and criteria for effective community utilization are given by Edward G. Olsen, *Community and School,* New York: Prentice-Hall, 1945.

there must be some exploration in a systematic fashion of these resources.   Every teacher can make a list of community resources, but a more thorough procedure being used by schools is to make a study or project approach to the task.   In this connection a National Education Association yearbook recommends the method of appointing committees of pupils, with necessary teacher guidance, to make a resource survey on the basis of a standardized plan.[33]

Another procedure recommended by this same group for discovering community resources is the use of volunteer community workers.[34]   Such a plan has been used effectively in Madison, New Jersey.   The superintendent of schools organized a Social Planning Council composed of representatives of the churches, welfare groups, patriotic societies, and other civic groups.   Not only did this council make a complete list of the resources, but it also attempted to obtain answers to the following questions: (1) What are the needs of the community?   (2) How are these needs being met? (3) What improvements could be made in meeting these needs?

Any classification of community resources is arbitrary.   A simplified listing would include natural, human, and cultural resources. These may be utilized by two main methods:

1. Bringing the community resources into the classroom.   For example, a businessman addresses a group of students; a local manufacturer exhibits some of his products; a social worker brings slides or movies depicting her work in social agencies.
2. Having the pupils leave the school to study the resource at its location.   For example, a class may visit the local newspaper plant, the offices of the city government, or a local industry.

Classification of resources for rural community.   A more comprehensive classification of community resources is offered by the Department of Rural Education of the National Education Association.   This scheme was planned chiefly for the purpose of arousing in teachers an awareness of the wealth of educative resources at their command.   A classification such as this one, that lists specifically the resources available, also helps teachers to put these resources into effective operation.

[33] *The Social Studies Curriculum,* Washington, D.C.: Department of Superintendence, National Education Association, 1936, p. 249.
[34] *Ibid.,* p. 250.

A. *Homes in the community*
Family membership
Housing of the family
Ideals and standards
Cultural resources — books, music, schooling, et cetera
Participation in community life
Racial background

B. *The school*
People: schoolmates, teacher, county superintendent, school directors, school nurse, et cetera
Grounds: building
Organization: school board, school district, et cetera
History, former organization, former pupils, et cetera

C. *Community organizations*
Church and related groups
Grange, Farm Bureau, co-operating marketing groups
Four-H clubs, Future Farmers, Home Economics and Agricultural extension
Scouts, Camp Fire Girls
Parent-Teacher Associations

D. *Agencies for health welfare*
State Department of Health
Red Cross, Junior Red Cross
Tuberculosis and health societies
Humane Society, Children's Aid Society

Inspectors: dairy, factory
Playground association, service clubs, safety council

E. *Means of communication*
Telephone, telegraph, postal service
Television, radio, movies, newspapers, magazines, trolley, railroad, bus, family car, airplane, boat
Itinerants in the community, salesmen, peddlers
Traveling library

F. *Government*
How it functions; elections and campaigns, town meetings, tax assessor, issuing of licenses, et cetera
Government sites: courthouses, et cetera
Services: postal, health, road building, highway patrol, Agricultural extension, power and light conservation

G. *Professional and religious services*
Medical: doctors (physician, dentist, veterinarian), nurse
Minister, priest, rabbi
Lawyer, merchant, statesman, banker
Community leaders, welfare workers
Artists, musicians

H. *The cultural heritage*
   Language spoken
   Books and literature — at home, libraries
   Art: architecture, landscaping, home furnishing, handwork
   Music: folk songs, radio, television
   Other races or nationalities
   Individuals with special knowledge and skill

I. *Sources of historical knowledge*
   Fossils, relics
   Colonial homes, furniture, old bridges, deeds of property, costumes, stamps, money, old newspapers
   Sites of early settlements, government buildings, historic incidents, Indian sites

J. *Nature*
   Land animals, insects, birds, plants
   Water animals, insects, birds, plants
   Land forms, topography
   Weather
   The night sky — stars, planets
   Beauty spots — for picnicking, hiking, et cetera

K. *Natural resources*
   Soil, clay, gravel, sand
   Petroleum, coal, gas
   Granite, slate, et cetera
   Minerals
   Water (for power, ice)
   Timber
   Semiprecious stones

L. *Farms in the community*
   Crops raised
   Ownership and management
   Machinery and equipment
   Disposal of farm products
   Use of experimental station findings and other scientific data

M. *Farm service occupations*
   Creamery, grist mill, grain elevator, blacksmith, farm market, trucking
   Farm machine factory, box and basket factory, hatchery
   Canneries, slaughter house, cheese factory

N. *Other occupational activities*
   Transportational services
   Manufacturing: generating power, producer's goods, consumer's goods
   Buying and selling
   Garage, laundry, bakery, bank, insurance company.[35]

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[35] N. E. A. Department of Rural Education "Community Resources in Rural Schools," Washington, D.C.: Department of Rural Education, National Education Association," *Seventeenth Yearbook,* 1939, pp. 21–23. Reprinted by permission.

Classification of resources for an urban community.   The Progressive Education Association has made a classification of the community resources of Chicago.   The list begins with the more concrete conditions of community life such as the historical, the geographic, and the physical, and then includes the less visible such as the social and cultural.   But as Jules Karlin and George Steiner pointed out, "It must be remembered that the community is at all times an organic and functional unity, and that any attempt at classification is bound to do injustice to its nature as a whole." [36] Only the major headings are listed here; the specific subdivisions or places of interest will, of course, vary according to the city:

(1) Historical Resources, (2) Geological Landmarks, (3) Transportation and Communication [both private and city-owned], (4) Physical Equipment [e.g., parks, piers, streets, water systems, recreation centers], (5) Government Resources [e.g., courts, education, police, and fire departments], (6) Economic Resources [e.g., industries, businesses], (7) Spatial Pattern [e.g., business centers, residential areas, slum districts], (8) Immigrant and Racial Colonies, (9) Social Welfare Resources [e.g., facilities for social case work, day nurseries, mental hygiene], and (10) Cultural Resources [e.g., museums, libraries, universities, theaters].[37]

It will be noticed that the classifications for the rural schools and those given for the Chicago schools and community are different.   Teachers planning to study community resources should base their classifications on the immediate community situation rather than on a general comprehensive pattern.

Use of the school by the community.   Community-minded educators not only use community resources to lend reality to the instructional program, but also think of the school as a service center for the community.   In this connection, three major community-service aspects of the school may be noted:

1. Educational center for adults.   Since education is regarded as a continuous, lifelong process, the local public school facilities serve ideally as a center for various types of adult education

[36] Jules Karlin and George J. Steiner, *Educational Use of Community Resources* . . . , Chicago: Progressive Education Association, 1940, p. 8.
[37] *Ibid.,* pp. 5–38.

activities. Both children and adults in the community will regard the school as the center of their educational activities.

2. Community improvement and the school. Many community schools have demonstrated their abilities to give leadership in areas of genuine social need. It has been demonstrated that administrators, teachers, students, and civic-minded laymen can co-operate in social action programs organized around definite community needs.

3. Co-ordination of community's educational efforts. Much of the life activity in the community is educative and the school can serve an important function by co-ordinating these activities. The school can give leadership by co-ordinating the work of community agencies and organizations in meeting community needs. Thus the school and community are bound together in a common task.[38]

Few schools will actually provide all of the functions above and carry out a program of community resource utilization. Some schools will be enthusiastic about one phase of these functions, and certainly there are numerous conventional schools engaging in one or more of them. A genuine community school, however, will try to obtain some sort of balance in all of the functions including community resource utilization in the curriculum.

In attempting to appraise the community-service functions of the school, the reader should remember that it is not something apart or different from the public school. It simply represents a trend toward community-centered learning. Under the impact of this educational philosophy, numerous schools are giving recognition to the fact that they have a locality-serving function; in the attempt to meet more realistically the needs of the local community, the educational process is being given new definition.

Education of the whole child. Research in psychology and sociology has demonstrated the essential unity of life experience — that the child is a complete being educated by a total environment. Education is not something to be abstracted as a segment in the experience and development of human behavior. Thus the educa-

[38] For details on community-service activities of the school, see E. G. Olsen, *op. cit.,* pp. 17–18; and E. G. Olsen, "School and Community," in H. Rivlin and Herbert Schueler, eds., *Encyclopedia of Modern Education,* New York: Philosophical Library, 1943, pp. 171–173.

tional process cannot be confined to the formal program of the school.   On this reasoning, then, the school is committed to a concept of education as a community-wide function and process. This process does not stop at the end of the traditional twelve grades but continues through adult life as well.

Leadership and community action.   In all social groupings some form of dominance-submission relationships is manifested.   When social action takes place, there always are individuals who "set the pace," point the way, direct, persuade and, in one way or another, give direction to the process.   If the school is to be a dynamic force in the community, it must give attention both to the development of leader skills within the school and to the discovery and development of leaders in the community.

Leadership is a situation-process in which an individual, because of some supposed or actual ability, is followed by others in the group.   The leader has skill in human relations and can manage the interplay of individual differences so that human energy may be controlled in the pursuit of common goals.

There is nothing so variable and yet so important as the type of leadership which communities develop.   Experience in community studies shows quite clearly there are techniques for discovering and developing leadership at the local community level.   General communities view leadership in terms of the formal offices such as mayor, police chief, superintendent of schools, the banker, editor, and minister.   The community expects these leaders to give direction to community life as a matter of course.

The community's hitherto untapped reservoir of leadership comes to light on the basis of special projects, particular community needs, and co-operative activities.   This includes such items as the citizens' committee for the promotion of a new school building, the development of a community swimming pool, the building of a community hospital, or the creation of a community co-ordinating council.

The use of local leadership in meeting community and school improvement goals was demonstrated in the Community School Service Program, previously described.   In brief, this involved co-operative determination of the major areas of need in the commu-

nity and the development of action programs to meet those needs.[39] Organized effort for improvement necessitated leadership, and in the process, numerous persons emerged in new leader roles.   In some cases the leaders merged informally, and in other cases they were prepared by formal leadership training courses sponsored by the local community with assistance from state colleges and universities.

LEADERSHIP AS DOMINATION.   It is well to be reminded of Pigors' differentiation between leadership and domination.[40]   Everyone active in community work knows the type of leader who "puts over" a project by dictating the details of the procedure.   Genuine community leadership must involve group consensus with regard to the objectives, which are crystallized in the person of the leader.

As Pigors suggested,[41] dominative leadership is one in which control is exercised by the forcible assumption of authority in which the activities of others are regulated for purposes of the leader's own choosing.   In genuine leadership, the leader liberates energy in his followers by making available avenues of action by which the group can give expression to its common goals.   This leader has the ability to express what the group feels.

LEADERSHIP AS LIBERATION.   A high-school faculty meeting in which the writer participated will illustrate leadership as liberation. The subject was tenure.

> Several meetings had been completely fruitless.   The goals were unclear; the objectives were confused; and everyone felt we were getting nowhere.   Then the faculty chairman of the tenure committee took over, and immediately the group began to pull together in their common cause.   We were in no sense "bossed," but we felt that the leader's expression of opinion was important.   We saw him as the symbol of what we wanted.
>
> Mutual interstimulation and lively discussion replaced apathy, hesitancy, and lack of clarity.   Divergent views were recognized,

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[39] Projects sponsored by the action committees of the Community School Service Program included creation of a county library, soil conservation campaign, fire prevention campaign, county park projects, landscaping project, religious survey, adult education program, crafts co-operative, quality milk program, recreation program, school camp, artificial breeders association, school curriculum study, trade and industry survey.

[40] Paul Pigors, *Leadership or Domination,* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935.

[41] *Ibid.,* p. 16.

and through a process of interstimulation, the group achieved consensus. This leader was able to liberate the energy of the group, not by dominating the group, or by forcing on us his preconceived goals, but by skillfully directing the group process in the direction of clarity and consensus.

Leadership of this type, based on liberation rather than domination, is extremely important at other levels of school and community life. Leadership of student groups or of community organizations can be similarly analyzed.

Processes of community action.   Important as leadership is, the mere selection of a community leader will not automatically set off an action program in the community. As Cook pointed out, all community movements of size and consequences seem to show at least a half dozen major ways of furthering work and purpose. These processes are organization, research, interpretation, publicity, co-operation, and pressure.[42]

A community action program must have a factual basis. A promising development in community action research is that pioneered by the late Kurt Lewin. He and his followers did experimental research in the development of work-shop techniques for the training of community leaders. Lewin suggested that the research needed for "social practice can best be characterized as research for social management or social engineering. It is a type of action research, a comparative research on the conditions and effects of various forms of social action, and research leading to social action. This·by no means implies that the research needed is in any respect less scientific or lower than what would be required for pure science in the field of social events." [43]

Social Engineering.   Lewin offered the following principles for social-action programs:

1. The change has to be a change of group atmosphere rather than of single items. . . . It must be deeper than the verbal level or the level of social or legal formalities.

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[42] Lloyd Allen Cook, "Community Action and the School," (pamphlet), College of Education, The Ohio State University, 1941, p. 9.
[43] Kurt Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflict,* New York: Harper & Bros., 1948, p. 202. Reprinted by permission.

2. It can be shown that the system of values which governs the ideology of a group is dynamically linked with other power aspects within the life of the group. . . . Any real change of the culture of a group is, therefore, interwoven with the changes of the power constellation within the group.
3. From this point it will be easily understood why a change in methods of leadership is probably the quickest way to bring about a change in the cultural atmosphere of the group.
4. It is . . . very important that the people who are to be changed . . . be dissatisfied with the previous situation and feel the need for a change.[44]

Community action and the school.   "Community improvement and public education meet at many points and have many common purposes. A community school system, if it is well-organized, well-led, and well-supported, can contribute greatly to the goodness of living in its community." [45]   There are five main approaches by which the public school can relate itself to community action programs:

1. Provide and develop leadership.   The superintendent of principal of the school is in a unique position to initiate action programs or to organize leader-training activities.
2. Provide facilities for community action groups.   The school is an ideal meeting place for the divergent groups in the community.
3. Develop a community-centered curriculum.   This can take place when students in the school are made conscious of their community, and the community has begun thinking in terms of community action.
4. Utilize community resources.   The use of community resources in the educational program will also tend to further the co-operative efforts between the school and other community agencies.
5. Serve as an agency of co-ordination in the community's educational efforts.   By bringing all community agencies into the common task of education, the school and community are bound together into a set of integrated tasks.

When the school administration and teachers, together with the students and the board of education, commit themselves to the con-

[44] Kurt Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflict,* New York: Harper & Bros., 1948, pp. 49–50.   Reprinted by permission.
[45] Eugene B. Elliott in forword to "Help Yourself," The Michigan Department of Public Instruction, Bulletin #410, 1947.

structive education of the whole child in relation to his total environment, the school thereby commits itself to a notion of education which regards the educational process as a community-wide function.

In any community, the school is likely to be the only permanent agency supported by all the people and serving all the children.   As such, it deserves to have the confidence of the community.   The school is thus in the unique position of being the greatest community agency for co-ordinating effort, for developing proposals into plans, and for translating plans into social action.

Questions for Discussion

1. What assumptions as to past, present, and future experience of the child underlie the idea of the "Community School"?   Discuss them.
2. In the "Community School," should the teacher be chosen from inhabitants of the community?
3. Does the idea of the "Community School" presuppose the absolute acceptance of the value orientation of the community without change?
4. Criticize the summary of value orientations made by Robin Williams, (quoted pp. 375–377) from the point of view of difference between voiced belief and practice.
5. What would be a successful outcome in a "Community School" project?
6. With mass media focusing attention on national culture, why should educators be concerned about the community concept with its emphasis on immediate locality culture?
7. In what ways does the understanding of the community contribute to the educative process?
8. What is the nature of the impact of the power structure in the community on the school?

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I5.   Population Dynamics and
the School[1]

THE SCIENCE OF DEMOGRAPHY IS VITALLY IMPOR-
tant to school people.   Every aspect of human activity is affected by
changes in the growth, distribution, and composition of population.
At present, the rapidly growing number of preschool children — now
increasing much faster than the adult population — creates prob-
lems in providing additional school buildings, in financing them, and
in recruiting and training teachers.   Increasing mobility of popula-
tion, as well as expanded and enriched curricula and cocurricular
activities, makes "ancient good uncouth" as far as the school district
structure in many localities is concerned.   These are factors that
make the reorganization of obsolete school districts imperative.

Population dynamics, for purposes of this chapter, may be di-
vided into three parts, namely, numbers, distribution, and composi-
tion of population.   A discussion of these three factors and their
trends will be followed by an analysis of schooling, school enroll-
ment, and school district reorganization.

POPULATION GROWTH

The population of the United States, including persons in the
armed forces overseas, reached 150,697,361 in 1950.   This was an
increase of more than nineteen million between 1940 and 1950.
Obviously such an increase has substantial effects upon school en-
rollments, school plants, teacher-training institutions, and allied
agencies.

[1] This chapter was written by J. F. Thaden.

Most of the increase in population during the past decade was a natural increase, an excess of births over deaths. This increase totaled eighteen million, while one million was contributed by migration.[2]

The country's population, including the armed forces overseas, rose to about 163,930,000 by the end of 1954. This was a gain of 2,830,000 during the year, and apparently the largest annual increase in our history. This foretells that the enrollment in the first grade is likely to be larger in 1960 than in preceding years, that the high-school freshman class in 1968 will outnumber preceding freshman classes, and the number of first-time students in institutions of higher education will attain an unequalled peak in 1972. Population can be expected to grow substantially each year during the next few decades. Present estimates of population for 1970 range from 189 to 204 million.[3] This points up the imperative need for thorough and constant reappraisal of the adequacy of existing school systems and school district organizations, and suggests the wisdom of five- and ten-year budgets and building plans.

Trends of school and preschool population.   Population may be divided into three categories: *school, preschool,* and *adult.* The line between the first two categories varies from state to state. Since some states permit five-year-olds to attend school, children under five may be classed as the preschool group. They total 16,163,571 for the United States or 10.7 per cent of the total population, according to the United States Census of 1950. This age group is the base of the population pyramid, which, largely because of the declining birth rate in past decades, has been getting gradually narrower toward the bottom of the pyramid. In 1880, this preschool group was 13.8 per cent of the population. By 1940 it was 8 per cent. A reversal set in as the depression of the 1930's subsided, and was concomitant with the advent of World War II. High birth rates have continued up to the present, probably because of full employment opportunities, high marriage rate, and trends toward earlier marriage.

In the United States, nearly eight million more babies were born during the 1940's than during the 1930's. Births in the early

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[2] U.S. Census, *Current Population Reports, Population Estimates,* Series P–25, No. 47, Table 3, March 9, 1951.

[3] *Ibid.,* No. 78, August 21, 1953.

1950's exceeded the average annual births for the same years of the preceding decade. This foretells the need of many more elementary-school teachers and classrooms in the immediate future. Educators, school board members, and citizens' committees are trying to alert their communities to prepare for the subsequent need for more schools and more teachers. Annual enumerations of preschool children, such as it is the practice to make in such states as Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, and New York, enable educators to foresee more clearly future school enrollments and educational needs. Those of preschool age will soon be of school age. From 1940 to 1950, the population under five years of age increased from 10.5 million to 16.1 million, an increase of 53 per cent. This was much greater, both in absolute numbers and in percentage, than in any other five-year age group.

"School age" population may be considered those from "five to nineteen" years of age inclusive. This category is more inclusive than that of the compulsory school age, which varies from state to state. School attendance has come to include a greater span of years. This school age group totals nearly thirty-five million persons, or 23.2 per cent of the population of the United States. Because of the declining birth rate in earlier decades, this group is now less than one-fourth of the total population, while it comprised over one-third (34.3 per cent) in 1880.

The school age population may be divided into three different age groups — five to nine, ten to fourteen, and fifteen to nineteen. The first age group increased by 2.5 million during the past decade, while the two older age groups decreased by 2.3 million, so that the school age population totals somewhat less at present than a decade ago. As the younger age groups succeed the next higher age groups, the school age population will total approximately fifty million in 1960, an increase of fifteen million during this decade. Over three-fourths will be enrolled in school.

The adults' burden of supporting children and youth, in view of the relative numbers of each, has been easing gradually. In 1880, each adult had about one nonadult to support. By 1950, there were two adults per nonadult.[4] Furthermore, a much larger proportion of present-day adults is gainfully employed than ever before. This enhances their ability to support their offspring. On the other

[4] U.S. Census, 1950 Population, *General Characteristics,* Table 39.

hand, the constant extension of school years, both compulsory and voluntary, and the relatively high cost of technical and professional training counteract the ease of adults to support those in the non-productive ages.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

Extensive mobility of people is one of the striking characteristics of this country. This mobility is associated with rapidly growing industrialization and its accompanying urbanization, suburbanization, improved roads, and ownership of automobiles. Many people reared and educated in one state subsequently migrate and earn their livelihood in another. The home states, then, after having borne the cost of education, are deprived of the manpower and taxes of such persons. This argument, together with the fact that relatively wealthy states frequently benefit from such migrations, has often been used by proponents of Federal aid to education.

Population is in a state of flux — a by-product of the transition from an agrarian to an industrial-capitalistic economy. Agricultural areas are being depopulated, while industrial centers, and especially their immediate hinterlands, are mushrooming.

Regional differences in population growth.   Forty-four states gained in population during the past decade, either through natural increase, net migration, or both — migration being the larger in Arizona, California, Florida, Maryland, Nevada, Oregon, and Washington.[5] Population decreased in Arkansas, Mississippi, North Dakota, and Oklahoma. However, the decrease in Mississippi was less than 1 per cent.

The West has consistently led in the rate of population growth for many decades. The South, the North Central, and the Northwest also increased in population. California advanced from fifth state in population in 1940 to second in 1950. Besides California, twelve other states now rank higher in population than they did in 1940. These are Arizona, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oregon, Utah, Virginia, and Washington. The total population of California, for

[5] U.S. Census, *Current Population Reports — Population Estimates,* Series P–25, No. 47, March 9, 1951.

example, increased from less than seven million in 1940 to over ten
and one-half million in 1950. Obviously, migrations, in-migrations,
and trends are important when considering population as a factor
affecting schools.

Differences in rural and urban population growth.   The gradual
increase in urban population has been a by-product of the indus-
trial revolution. It increased in every state, even in Arkansas,
Mississippi, North Dakota, and Oklahoma, although each of these
experienced a loss in total population.

Rural population is also increasing, but less than half as fast
as the urban population. The reason is that, despite the decrease in
the rural-farm population, the rural nonfarm population is increas-
ing very rapidly. The rural nonfarmers, mostly people who live
in the suburban fringe areas of cities, increased 11.6 million during
the past decade. In percentage, this group grew more than twice
as fast as the urban population. It is in the suburban fringe areas
that school building problems and related activities are usually the
most critical, caused in large part by rapid in-migration of people
and a school district structure adapted to pioneer conditions.

Rural farm population decreased 7.2 million from 1940 to
1950. Motorization, mechanization, increasing size of farms, and
commercial farming are some of the factors contributing to this
change.

The population trends of the 1940's will quite likely continue
throughout the 1950's. Decreasing farm population will neces-
sitate the closing of many remaining one-teacher schools and the
merger of school districts. The urban and suburban (rural non-
farm) areas will continue to gain.

An adequate understanding of population phenomena includes
a knowledge of the extent and nature of migration. The 1950
census indicated that rural nonfarm people are highly mobile, more
so than even the urban population.[6]

Suburban areas, the by-product of rapid industrial expansion,
rapid increase in number of families, rising cost of living, good
roads, numerous automobiles, growing tendency for people mak-
ing their living in cities to commute to work — all these factors
and many others are creating a new and unknown world, the habitat

[6] U.S. Census, 1950 Population, *General Characteristics,* Table 34.

of a rapidly multiplying rural nonfarm people. A smaller percentage of them than of either urban or of rural farm people was living in the same house in 1950 as in 1949. A larger percentage is living in a different house in the same county, and a larger percentage is living in a different county or abroad. This indicates the mobility of rural nonfarm people and the implications it has for educators and teachers who have the problem of planning schools and programs for tomorrow's children.

Population standard metropolitan areas. The standard metropolitan area has been specifically devised by the Bureau of the Census and other Federal agencies for the purpose of separately identifying large concentrations of populations in and around cities of 50,000 or more. A major purpose is that a wide variety of statistical data might be presented on a uniform basis for such socially and economically integrated units. The standard metropolitan area of the 1950 census was designed to replace the "metropolitan district" defined in connection with the 1940 census.

The Bureau of the Census defines a "standard metropolitan area" as a county or group of contiguous counties which contains at least one city of 50,000 or more, except in New England, where towns and cities are the units used. In addition to the county, or counties, containing such a city, or cities, contiguous counties are included if, according to certain specified criteria, they are essentially integrated with the central city.[7]

Four-fifths of the nineteen million increase in the United States during 1940–50 occurred in standard metropolitan areas and nearly one-half of the total increase occurred outside the central cities. Here in 168 areas, comprising 7 per cent of the three million square miles of the United States, were concentrated, in a period of ten years, fifteen million additional people. Several times, in connection with previous topics, attention was directed to the increasing concentration of population in suburban areas. Such population increases and concentrations should be matched by corresponding increases in valuations to finance the skyrocketing school costs. Too often a standard metropolitan area, although a fairly well-integrated "social and economic unit," is unnecessarily divided by a multiplicity of widely varying school district organizations and

[7] U.S. Census, 1950 Population, *Number of Inhabitants,* p. XXXI.

school systems. The formation of unified, integrated school district structures, coterminous with the standard metropolitan areas, may be among the major social engineering projects investigated and undertaken in the future.

COMPOSITION OF POPULATION

The study of the composition, or make-up, of population must take many elements into account. Among these are age, sex, race, nativity, rural-urban residence, marital status, occupation, schooling of adults, school enrollment and attendance of children, and religious affiliation. All have relationships to education. All possess dynamic characteristics at present — almost as dynamic as the numerical growth, mobility, and distribution of population. All are of significance to school people — teachers, administrators, and board members.

Population pyramid (age-sex composition of population). The population pyramid is a graphic representation of a group of people on the basis of age and sex. Figure 11 shows the age and sex distribution in the U.S. in 1950 on a percentage basis. It will be noted that the youngest age group is at the bottom, with successively older age groups above it. There is now a larger percentage of people under five years than in 1940 or in 1930 — a reflection of rising births during the postwar years. The percentages in the age groups ten to fourteen, fifteen to nineteen, and twenty to twenty-four are less than those of 1940 and 1930. These trends reflect the downward slope of the birth rate during the 1920's and during the depression years of the early 1930's. The percentages in all age groups above fifty-four are higher than at any preceding census period — reflecting increasing longevity and decreasing death rates. This indicates that the population pyramid is responsive to changing social and economic conditions. The school population rises and falls accordingly, and caution needs to be exercised in making forecasts of school population on the basis of mathematical formulas.

The sex ratio is expressed as the number of males per one hundred females. In 1950, there were 74,833,239 males and 75,864,-122 females in the United States — a sex ratio of 98.6 to 100. For the first time in the history of this country, females now outnum-

ber males, in fact, outnumber them by over a million.   This situa-
tion exists despite the fact that the ratio of male to female births is
about 1,056 : 1,000.   But at nearly all ages, the death rate of males
exceeds that of females, a condition that always tends to equalize
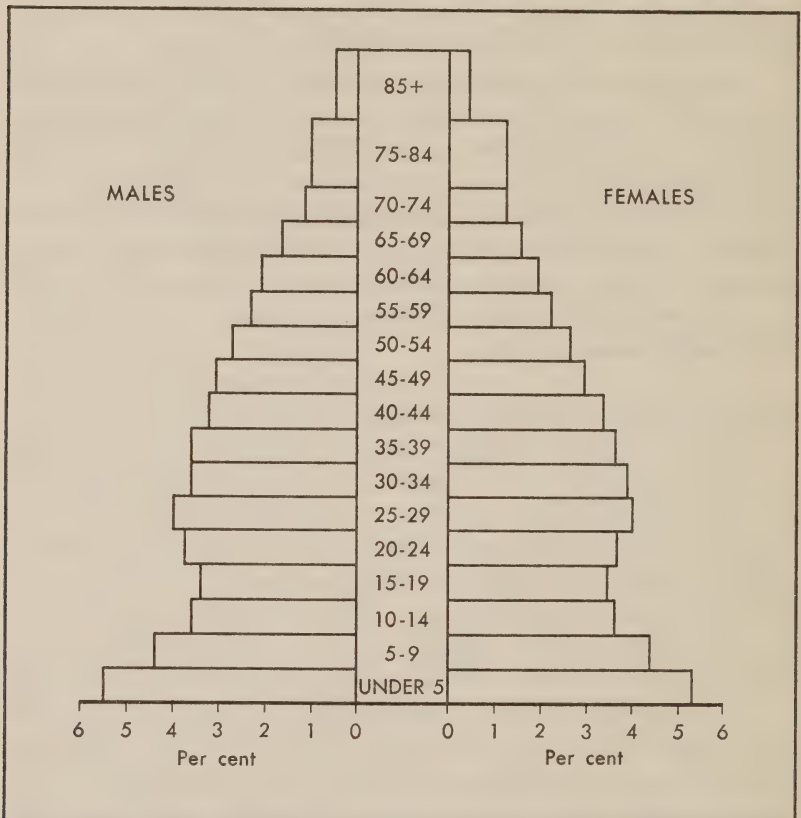
FIGURE 11.   **Composition of the United States population in per cent by age
and sex: 1950.**   (From U.S. Census, 1950 Population, *General Characteristics*,
Table 37.)

the sex ratio of adults.   Several factors have created this new kind
of sex imbalance.   First, wars tend to decimate men rather than
women.   Immigration restrictions have lowered the excess of men
over women among the foreign born.   Third, life expectancy
among women is gaining more rapidly than among men.

The sex ratio has implications for school people.   For example,
girls go to school more than boys, and therefore, possibly more is

spent in educating them. The number of years of school completed
by those twenty-five years old and over is 9.0 for males and 9.6 for
females. The tendency for females to acquire more schooling than
males is about equally true among adults in the urban, rural non-
farm, and rural farm populations. However, numerical female
preponderance does not exist among the rural farm groups as it
does in the other two groups.[8] Not as large a proportion of females
as of males has completed college, except among rural farm people,
but a significantly higher proportion of females than of males in
the three different residence groups has completed high school.

One of the important changes in the composition of population
in the United States, and one which has a long-range effect upon
every social institution, is that of age. The median age of the popu-
lation three-quarters of a century ago was less than twenty-one (20.9
years) and now it is 30.2 years. The percentage of people who live
"three score years and ten" is gradually increasing. The average
twenty-one-year-old white male of today can expect to live at least
forty-eight more years; the average twenty-one-year-old white girl
fifty-four more years.[9]

Population composition and economic factors.   The changing
age structure in the course of the last eighty years is indicated in
Table XXV.

T A B L E X X V .   **Age distribution by three major groups, United States:**
                    1880 to 1950.[10]

Age group	Percentage distribution							
	1950	*1940*	*1930*	*1920*	*1910*	*1900*	*1890*	*1880*
under 20	33.9	34.4	38.8	40.7	42.0	44.3	46.0	48.1
20 to 64	57.9	58.7	55.6	54.5	53.5	51.3	49.9	48.5
65 and over.	8.2	6.9	5.6	4.8	4.5	4.4	4.1	3.4

The changing age composition — proportionately fewer un-
der twenty years of age, more from twenty to sixty-four, and many
more sixty-five and older — began long before 1880 and it will
continue for many years after 1950. The continuation of the past

[8] U.S. Census, 1950 Population, *General Characteristics,* Table 44.
[9] Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, *Statistical Bulletin,* June 1954, p. 4.
[10] *Ibid.* Table 39.

trend is certain because of the lowering of infant mortality, increasing survival rates, especially in all younger ages, and increasing life expectancy.

The figures in Table XXV indicate that in 1880 each nonadult had one adult to support him, while at present he has two adults upon whom to depend for his food, clothing, education, and other necessities of life. The changing age composition and the increasing proportion of economic producers to nonproducers are exceedingly important to school people. In general, as the age of the population rises, the proportion of economic producers to children and elderly dependents increases, and the burden of supporting those of the nonproductive years is lightened.

The median age of the urban population is 31.6 years and that of the farm population 26.3 years — a difference of 5.3 years. The median age of the white farm population is 27.9 years and that of the nonwhite farm population 18.5 years — a difference of 9.4 years. Such differences in age affect the ratio of people in the economically productive and nonproductive age groups and the financial burden of providing educational facilities.

Urban people have numerical advantage in educating and supporting their children. Because of age differences, the burden of supporting and educating those in the nonproductive age group (under twenty, and sixty-five and over) falls unequally upon those in the productive age group (twenty to sixty-four) as between urban and rural areas, and also as between the white and nonwhite peoples. For United States generally, one hundred persons in the productive age group have the burden of supporting about seventy-five in the nonproductive age group. This burden is light for those in the urban areas and heaviest for those in the farm areas, especially among the nonwhites in the farm areas.

The white population has numerical advantage over the nonwhite in educating and supporting their children. The disparity is especially large among the farm peoples, where the nonwhites seem to have about twice the burden of the white population. In fact, 100 nonwhites in the economically productive category have the task of supporting 119 persons in the economically nonproductive class, while the ratio among the white farm groups is 100 to 74. Obviously, the burden of supporting the present and the oncoming generations, plus providing for their education, falls un-

equally between races, and between urban and farm peoples. Those responsible for foundation programs and state and Federal aid formulas to equalize educational opportunities should not ignore this factor.

Since the proportion of those sixty-five years old and over doubled from 1890 to 1950 — from 4.1 to 8.2 per cent — this age group merits brief description regarding its potential power and influence in important school matters. There is some evidence that conservatism increases with age. Complaints about school taxes are common. This is particularly true of those with grown-up children and those living on retirement pensions. We tend to become somewhat more tax-conscious with increasing age.

The percentage of elderly people, those sixty-five years old and over, is more than 10 per cent in some states and under 5 per cent in others. Most of the New England states and the corn-belt states have a high proportion of old people, while there are relatively few such people in the South Atlantic and Mountain States. In general, elderly people (sixty-five and over) are found most frequently among the rural nonfarmers; they are least numerous among the farm people.

In 1880 there were approximately 1,723,000 persons sixty-five years of age and over in the United States. By 1950 this group numbered 12,270,000. While the number of those under sixty-five nearly tripled, the number of those sixty-five and over had increased seven times. Those sixty-five and over are expected to increase to over twenty million by 1975.

Every phase of our social and economic life is affected by the increase of the aged. Pensions, social security programs, group hospitalization-medical-surgical organizations, Townsend Clubs,[11] and adult education classes are increasing as the upper part of the population pyramid expands. This group is expected to increase by about eight million within the next quarter of a century. Certainly age is an important power in decisions concerning education. Community conflicts involving influential town and country elders sometimes develop over proposed changes in educational policies

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[11] Based on Townsend Recovery Plan, a 1934 proposal originated as Townsend Old-Age Revolving Pension by Dr. F. E. Townsend, to award to each person sixty years or over, who retires from active employment, $200 per month to be spent within the month. Funds were to be provided by a 2 per cent transaction tax.

and practices and other social institutions. Successful community leaders must be adept at manipulating and reconciling antagonistic forces for the educational welfare of the community's children.

MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED BY ADULTS

In 1950, there were 87.5 million people in the United States who were twenty-five years old and over. The 1950 census revealed that the median school year completed by them was 9.3, compared to 8.6 in 1940.[12] All states might aspire to attain the level reached in 1950 by the District of Columbia, Utah, and California, where median school years completed were 12.0, 12.0, and 11.6, respectively. Adults today should be better prepared educationally to fulfill their responsibilities than they were a decade ago.

The median school year completed varies from 7.7 in Louisiana to 12.0 in Utah. Except for Massachusetts the highest states in median school years constitute a solid block in the West. The highest ranking states are Utah, California, Nevada, Washington, Wyoming, Idaho, Oregon, Massachusetts, and Colorado. All, except Idaho and Wyoming, had net in-migration during the decade. Could selective migration as to extensive schooling during the decade be credited for these high rankings? The answer is essentially negative because these states ranked among the highest and in practically the same order in 1940. The ranking of states by extent of schooling of their adult population is due largely to factors indigenous to their respective state school systems and in their total cultural environment concerned with education.

Extent of schooling varies considerably between male and female, urban and rural, between states, and within states. The variations are greater than necessary. The doctrine, "All men are created free and equal" applies to education only when economic, educational, and social opportunities are equal among communities, counties, and states. Federal aid to education on the basis of need and demonstrated capacity to use such aid could partially reduce inequalities in educational opportunities. However, such Federal grants should be contingent, in part, upon states having equalized existing educational opportunities among their counties and communities.

[12] U.S. Census, 1950 Population, *General Characteristics,* Table 44.

Over two million, or 2.5 per cent, seem never to have gone to school. Reduction of spatial isolation is making the acquisition of formal schooling easier. Yet dual school systems, race prejudice, small and gerrymandered school districts, and lax school attendance officers are just a few of the factors that kept many adults out of school in their childhood days. On the other hand, many dropped out of school, for one reason or another, long before they had completed available school education. In both groups are many, probably the majority, who had the mental capacity to do acceptable school work. State-wide surveys throughout the nation are being made in an attempt to pinpoint the significant present-day factors of the school "dropout" problem. For some adults, school was very abbreviated. The census shows that seven million completed only between one and four years of school, and eight million completed only five or six years. For such as are mentally able, this is a tremendous waste of human potentialities.

A considerable proportion of persons is continuing formal schooling after reaching twenty. The 1950 census indicated that nearly 1.5 million, or 13 per cent of those twenty to twenty-four years old were enrolled in school. Furthermore, four-fifths of a million, or 6.5 per cent of those twenty-five to twenty-nine years, were also enrolled in school.[13] Many of those adults had served in World War II and were using the educational provisions of the "G.I. Bill." Of course, some were enrolled in adult evening classes and were not concerned about high school or college credits.

Comparative education of males and females.   Females go to school longer than males. The median school year completed by females is 9.6 and by males 9.0. This differential is about equally true among urban, rural nonfarm, and rural farm groups. Of course there are some exceptions to this generalization. Only in New Jersey and New York do urban males exceed urban females in schooling. There are no states in which rural farm and nonfarm males have completed more years of school than females.

Females have made considerable progress up the educational ladder during the past decade. From 1940 to 1950, the median school years completed rose from 8.7 to 9.6 among women and

[13] *Ibid.,* Table 42.

from 8.6 to 9.0 among men. This reflects increasing emancipation of women and expansion of economic and educational opportunities for them. Proportionately, more women than men have completed high school and also completed one to three years of college. However, fewer women are graduated from college. Some 7.1 per cent of men have completed four years or more of college as compared to only 5 per cent of the women.

The tendency for girls to go to high school and to be graduated from high school in relatively larger numbers than boys is about equally true among urban, rural nonfarm, and rural farm groups. Urban and rural nonfarm men are more likely to be college graduates than their wives. The reverse prevails on the farm, where more women than men are college graduates. Of farm men twenty-five years old and over, 2 per cent have completed four years or more of college as compared to 2.4 per cent for farm women.

Schooling of white and nonwhite adults. The adult white population, twenty-five years old and over, has to its credit 9.7 median school years completed; the nonwhite, 6.9 years. Highest levels of schooling among whites are found in Utah with 12.0 years and the District of Columbia with 12.4 years. Among the nonwhite, the highest point reached is 9.8 in Colorado. The difference in schooling is most noticeable among farm population, because among them the whites have 8.6 years and the nonwhites only 4.8 years.

Eighth-grade graduation, as the symbol of completion of formal education, is being gradually replaced by high-school graduation. Over one-fifth of the white people have completed four years of high school, and 8 per cent of the nonwhite people have done so. Schooling of farm people, both white and nonwhite, is meager. Yet the percentage runs as high as 11.0 for the farm population of Utah, and as high as 9.0 for the nonwhite farm population of Colorado. Colorado is the only state in which the nonwhite farm population had more schooling than the white farm population. With the exception just noted, the white population, whether total, urban, rural nonfarm or farm, has had more schooling than the nonwhite.

An increasing proportion of the population enters college and is graduated. Today, a college degree is a prerequisite in many pro-

fessions and occupations.   The 4.9 per cent of the adult white pop-
ulation who had completed four years or more of college in 1940
had increased to 6.4 per cent in 1950.[14]   The comparable figures
among nonwhites were 1.3 and 2.2 per cent.

There are relatively few college educated people in the rural
nonfarm areas and still fewer in farm areas.   Selective migration
may contribute to this condition in many states and communities.
Among rural farm people only 2.4 per cent of the adult white pop-
ulation had completed four years or more of college.   However
it should be noted that it is 6.6 per cent in Massachusetts, which
leads the nation in this respect.   Among rural farm people, only .6
per cent of the nonwhite adults had completed four years or more
of college, although as many as 2.6 per cent attained this high
educational level in Nebraska.

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

A gradually increasing proportion of the population is enrolled
in school.   It is a part of the American tradition and of the Amer-
ican way of life.   One-half of those from five to twenty-nine years
of age were enrolled in school in 1950.   They numbered twenty-
nine million, which included nearly a million who were enrolled
in kindergarten.

The U.S. Census provides data on school enrollment by age
groups, as follows: five and six years, seven to fifteen, fourteen and
fifteen, sixteen and seventeen, eighteen and nineteen, twenty to
twenty-four, and twenty-five to twenty-nine.   For each age group,
school enrollment was higher in 1950 than at most preceding dec-
ades.   The largest advances were among those of high-school and
college age.   In 1910 this proportion had increased to over nine
out of ten.   During the same period, those sixteen and seventeen
had increased from less than one-half to three out of four; and
those eighteen and nineteen had nearly doubled — from 19 to 32
per cent.   School enrollment among those twenty to twenty-four
had also virtually doubled since 1930.[15]

A total of 26.7 million of those five to nineteen years of age
was enrolled in school in 1950.   This figure will increase tremen-
dously during the next two decades because of the increasing birth

[14] U.S. Census, 1950 Population, *General Characteristics,* Table 44.
[15] *Ibid.,* Table 43.

rate since World War II. Elementary- and secondary-school enrollment can be expected to increase to about forty million by 1960, and to about forty-three million by 1965.[16] This foretells the need for more than a half a million additional teachers and classrooms by 1965. At an average cost of $25,000 per classroom, the outlay for additional schools will amount to over thirteen billion dollars. "Growing pains" will continue to plague us for many years. Inevitable and phenomenally rapid school-enrollment growth challenges school administrators and school boards to "be prepared" — to study potential school enrollment trends closely and to make forecasts of enrollments, grade-by-grade, and year-by-year. Such forecasts should be checked and possibly revised periodically. They constitute the basis for annually renewable five- and ten-year school budget and building plans.

Enrollment of children of elementary-school age.   There has been an increase in the number of children who start their schooling at the age of five and six in the public schools. The number of five- and six-year-old children enrolled in kindergarten in 1950 ranged from 1.5 per cent in West Virginia to 37 per cent in Michigan. The range of five- and six-year-old children enrolled in school, including kindergarten, was from 32 per cent in Texas to 78 per cent in California.[17]

Kindergarten education is a part of the public school system in most of the larger urban centers and only infrequently in rural areas — one of many symptoms of educational inequalities. Kindergartens are rare in the South, also in Idaho, Montana, and New Mexico. Beliefs regarding the values of kindergarten education vary widely from one section to another. Educators generally believe that kindergarten experience promotes the personality and social growth during this important formative period. Some have said that they would rather have their own children miss a year of secondary school than forego kindergarten.

Children seven to thirteen are the core of the compulsory school attendance group. Apparently, observation and enforcement of laws regarding compulsory school attendance are lax in many areas, since only 95.7 per cent are enrolled in school. This per-

[16] U.S. Census, *Current Population Reports, Population Estimates,* Series P–25, No. 85, December 7, 1953.
[17] U.S. Census, 1950 Population, *General Characteristics,* Table 66.

centage varies from 90.8 in Kentucky to 97.8 in Nevada. States with more than 97 per cent enrolled are California, Michigan, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, and Washington. If school enrollment in this age group were 97.8 per cent in all states, as in Nevada, it would be over a third of a million larger.

School enrollment of seven- to thirteen-year-old children, as for all other age groups, is higher in cities than among rural nonfarm and farm groups. Considerable difference in enrollment also exists among states in each of the three different residence groups. Among urban children, Delaware ranks lowest (94.4 per cent) and Montana highest (97.6 per cent). Among rural nonfarm children, the range is from 89.7 per cent in Arizona to 98.3 per cent in Nevada. The greatest range exists in the farm group — from 83.7 per cent to 97.5 per cent for Arizona and Vermont, respectively. Numerous factors, rather than a single one, contribute to the variations.

Enrollment of youth of high-school age. Although fourteen- and fifteen-year-old youth are commonly considered "freshmen" and "sophomores" in high school, they are actually distributed over a very wide range of grades. For example, those who were fourteen in 1950 and enrolled in school were distributed over all twelve grades.[18]

Dropping out of school becomes increasingly more prevalent after one reaches fourteen. The philosophy of many families still endorses the thesis that children should become at least partially self-supporting on reaching adolescence. About 95 per cent of the urban youth fourteen and fifteen years old were in school in 1950, but only 89 per cent of the farm group and 92 per cent of the rural nonfarm youth attended school. If enrollment percentage among the rural nonfarm and farm youngsters in this age group equalled that in the urban group, the total would be 1,834,000, whereas it is actually 1,752,000. School enrollment in this age group is relatively low in most of the South and relatively high in the Pacific Coast states and in Utah and Michigan.

Barely three-fourths of those who are sixteen and seventeen years old are enrolled in school. The range is from 56.3 per cent in Kentucky to 88.3 per cent in Utah. A majority of those enrolled

[18] U.S. Census, 1950 Population, *Detailed Characteristics,* Table 112.

are in high school.[19]   As in the case of all other age groups, the percentage is higher for the urban areas than for rural areas, and higher for the rural nonfarm than for the farm youth. Wisconsin, Oregon, and Utah rank highest for the urban population; Iowa, Utah, and Minnesota for the rural nonfarm population; and Utah, Oregon, and Washington for the farm population. Utah ranks among the three highest states in all three groups and Oregon in two of them. However, wide variation is found within each state.

Enrollment of youth of college age.   Another teen-age group is that of those eighteen and nineteen years of age. Slightly less than one-third (32.3 per cent) of them are enrolled in school. Several states have less than one-fifth of them enrolled, while in Connecticut, New Hampshire, Utah, and Vermont two-thirds or more are enrolled. National figures show that two out of five of this group are college freshmen and sophomores.

Nearly a million and a half of those from twenty to twenty-four years of age were enrolled in school in 1950. This is nearly twice as many as in 1940. The 1950 enrollment reflects, in part, the effect of the "G.I. Bill," for one-fourth of those enrolled in colleges and universities that year were veterans.[20]

In general, education missed during adolescence is not made up in adult life. Of the ten states ranking lowest in school enrollment among the eighteen- and nineteen-year-olds, seven are also among the ten lowest in enrollment of persons twenty to twenty-four. Seven of the ten states ranking highest in enrollment of eighteen- and nineteen-year-olds are also among the ten highest in enrollments of persons twenty to twenty-four.[21]

In many states ranking high in school enrollment, there are some low-ranking counties. On the other hand, there are some high-ranking counties in states with low over-all ratings. What are important contributing causes for such variations and for the exceptions? How can such inequalities be reduced? An awareness of wide variation within states presents a challenge for research on "dropouts" on the county and community levels.

[19] *Ibid.,* Table 114.
[20] "1950 Enrollment in Higher Educational Institutions," Circular No. 281, November 15, 1950. Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Table I.
[21] U.S. Census, 1950 Population, *General Characteristics,* Table 18.

Item	Rank		
	First	*Second*	*Third*
Total population:			
Median school years completed, 25 years old and over	Utah	D.C.	Calif.
Per cent age 20 to 24 enrolled in school	Utah	D.C.	Mass.
Per cent age 18 and 19 enrolled in school	Utah	N.H.	Vt.
Per cent age 16 and 17 enrolled in school	Utah	Ore.	Calif.
Per cent age 14 and 15 enrolled in school	Utah	Wash.	Mich.
Per cent age 7 to 13 enrolled in school	Nev.	Wash.	Ore.
Per cent age 5 and 6 enrolled in school, excluding kindergarten	Calif.	N.Y.	R.I.
Urban population:			
Median school years completed, 25 years old and over	Utah	Nev.	Wyo.
Per cent age 20 to 24 enrolled in school	Vt.	Utah	Colo.
Per cent age 18 and 19 enrolled in school	Vt.	S.D.	N.H.
Per cent age 16 and 17 enrolled in school	Wis.	Ore.	Utah
Per cent age 14 and 15 enrolled in school	Utah	Wash.	Ore.
Per cent age 7 to 13 enrolled in school	Mont.	Wash.	Utah
Per cent age 5 and 6 enrolled in school, excluding kindergarten	Calif.	N.Y.	R.I.
Rural nonfarm population:			
Median school years completed 25 years old and over	Mass.	Utah	Conn.
Per cent age 20 to 24 enrolled in school	Miss.	Conn.	R.I.
Per cent age 18 and 19 enrolled in school	Vt.	Miss.	Conn.
Per cent age 16 and 17 enrolled in school	Utah	Iowa	Minn.
Per cent age 14 and 15 enrolled in school	N.Y.	Mich.	Wash.
Per cent age 7 to 13 enrolled in school	Nev.	Wash.	N.H.
Per cent age 5 and 6 enrolled in school, excluding kindergarten	N.Y.	Mo.	Calif.
Rural farm population:			
Median school years completed, 25 years old and over	Utah	Mass.	Idaho
Per cent age 20 to 24 enrolled in school	R.I.	Utah	Mass.
Per cent age 18 and 19 enrolled in school	Utah	Wash.	Idaho
Per cent age 16 and 17 enrolled in school	Utah	Ore.	Wash.
Per cent age 14 and 15 enrolled in school	Conn.	Utah	N.J.
Per cent age 7 to 13 enrolled in school	Vt.	Ore.	Wash.
Per cent age 5 and 6 enrolled in school, excluding kindergarten	Nev.	Mo.	Conn.

* District of Columbia included in survey.

[22] Compiled from U.S. Census, 1950 Population Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population,* Table 20.

Table XXVI indicates the states ranking first, second, and third for total, urban, rural nonfarm and farm populations with respect to seven educational characteristics. Utah appears in the first column eleven out of twenty-eight possible times, in the second column four times, and in the third column twice. Utah, ranking first, second, or third seventeen times, Washington nine times, Oregon six times, and California and Vermont five times, have relatively high education levels. These states merit detailed study, by counties and by cities. Such achievements are not accidental. They are the results of action on the belief that education is important in the scheme of things and that the more of it there is the better off society will be. No doubt, well-planned educational policies and endeavors have contributed to the attainment of their high status. Research on the possible reasons for educational variations between states and within states will contribute to the continued educational welfare of this and future generations of learners.

SCHOOL DISTRICT REORGANIZATION

Many inequities in extent of schooling and school enrollment have been indicated on preceding pages. Many other inequities in education within counties and states and among the states prevail. Among these are pupil-teacher ratio, training of teachers, experience of teachers, teaching ability and interest, qualifications of teachers, curricula, valuations per capita, average daily attendance and membership, school equipment and facilities, adequacy and modernness of school plant, average size of class, overcrowding, cost of instruction per pupil, tax rate for school operation, and indebtedness. Some inequities arise because of differential population change, especially rapid population increase in suburban areas and population decrease in rural areas beyond the commuting zones of cities. Many of these inequities are inherent in the small school district. In many states, districts that offer an elementary-school education only are still more common than those that offer a complete curriculum of twelve grades and kindergarten. Reorganization of districts in harmony with contemporary educational and social needs can result in substantial reduction in inequities.

Educational inequalities. A recent study by the National Educational Association showed that from July 1950 to July 1951 as many as 30 per cent of the draftees from eight states were rejected due to educational deficiencies. The actual rejection rate ranged from a high of 56 per cent in South Carolina to a low of 1.3 per cent in Minnesota. The average number of pupils per teacher ranged from 14.6 in North Dakota to 30.6 in Alabama. The percentage of elementary-school teachers with less than four years of college preparation (1953–54) ranged from 2.5 per cent in Arizona to 99 per cent in South Dakota. The average salary of classroom teachers (1953–54) ranged from $1,741 in Mississippi to $4,800 in California. The average expenditure from state and local sources per pupil in average daily attendance for public education ranged from $85 in Mississippi to $324 in New York.[23] The extremes of educational differences in many other respects could be cited. Somewhat similar variations prevail within states. Reorganization of school districts might provide one method for reducing some educational differences and for providing better schooling.

The need for fewer and larger school districts. Education is legally a state function; local school districts are created in accordance with state laws to help the state carry out this function. School districts are quasi-corporations, that is, their powers and duties are prescribed by statute. The number of school districts varies from less than one hundred in Florida, Louisiana, Maryland, Rhode Island, Utah, and West Virginia to more than six thousand in Nebraska. A decade ago we said that the number varied from less than a hundred in some states to 11,995 in Illinois. At present, Illinois has 2,349 districts and about two-thirds of the area of the state are in community-unit or reorganized districts. Since 1932 the number of school districts has been reduced by one thousand or more in each of seventeen states.[24] At present there are some 66,000 school districts in the United States, about half

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[23] *Educational Differences Among the States,* Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, March 1954, pp. 10–21.

[24] Howard A. Dawson and William J. Ellena, *The Status of Schools, School Districts and School District Reorganization,* Washington, D.C.: Department of Rural Education, National Education Association, March 1, 1954.

as many as in 1932. This is evidence of extensive and gradual school-district reorganization.

The extent of reorganization in several other states may be noted. Idaho has 190 school districts, contrasted with 1,110 in 1947. The number of school districts in Michigan was reduced from 7,333 in 1910 to 6,274 in 1941–42 and to slightly less than 4,000 as of January 1, 1955. In 1933, all districts within each of West Virginia's fifty-five counties were abolished and one district was established, coextensive with the boundaries of the county. The same was done in Florida in 1947, which has sixty-seven counties.

New York once had over 9,000 school districts; some 2,300 remain. Most of the reduction took place under its Rural Central School District Law of 1925. Over 85 per cent of the rural area of the state is now included in its some 450 central districts. Reorganization continued, and in 1953–54, twenty-three new reorganizations materialized. They included 348 former districts — an average of 15 districts each.

School-district reorganization is "on the move" in many states. "Available facts indicate that the total number of operating school districts in the United States on July 1, 1954, was 48,700. School districts are still disappearing at the rate of more than 6,500 a year." [25] However, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, South Dakota, and Wisconsin each contains more than three thousand school districts, and an additional twelve states each contains more than one thousand districts. Each of these states would probably have between one hundred and five hundred districts if their districts were reorganized on the basis of natural trade-service communities.

Benefits of school-district reorganization.   The Second National Conference on Rural Education, held in Washington, D.C., in October 1954, under the leadership of the Department of Rural Education, N.E.A., indicated that reorganization of school districts was a means of providing better educational opportunities to rural communities. Responses to the question, "What happened after you reorganized your school districts?" revealed the follow-

[25] Howard A. Dawson, "District Reorganization," *The School Executive,* January 1955, p. 86.

ing benefits: "Good teachers were easier to get and to keep; school plant facilities were improved; children had more and better learning opportunities in art, music, health education, agriculture, home-making, crafts and industrial arts; transportation service was improved; and people were getting better returns from their school tax dollars." [26]   Such virtues as these and many others are commonly listed by people who have the responsibility of initiating action on a proposal of school-district reorganization, particularly if a community school-district is planned.   Among the benefits that may be argued for a community school-district are the following:

1. Pupils are residents of their own district; there is no need of transfer to a twelve-grade district as a nonresident, tuition pupil when high-school education is desired.
2. Children will be associated with and learning with others of similar age.
3. All school-age children in a family will be in the same school system.
4. Country children will have all of the same educational advantages of village children.
5. Children may have some choice in selecting their course of study.
6. Special services may be available for atypical children who need them.
7. A wider selection of extracurricular activities is possible.
8. Adequately trained teachers are easier to secure and to retain.
9. There are generally one or more teachers per grade.
10. Pupil-teacher ratio can be more easily balanced.
11. Larger tax base can finance school needs more easily.
12. Services, equipment, and supervision can be operated more efficiently.
13. Quantity buying of supplies makes greater savings possible.
14. All parents and citizens are legal residents of the district.
15. The school board can be selected from the best educational leadership of the entire community.
16. Improves country–village integration.

[26] Shirley Cooper, "Schools in Rural Areas," *The School Executive,* January 1955, p. 57.

17. The high school belongs to all the people, not merely the villagers alone.
18. The high school is more likely to meet the qualifications for accreditation.
19. More effective school bus routes can be established.
20. Eliminates competition between high schools for nonresident pupils.

Any realignment and combination of school districts, usually small elementary units, could be called reorganization. Considerable reorganization has taken place on the basis of townships and counties, each of which is briefly mentioned preceding the discussion of community school districts. Present philosophy favors reorganization on the basis of natural sociological communities.

Town or township school districts. There are nine states in which town or township school districts are the prevailing type. They are the New England states, Indiana, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Numerous other states, especially Iowa, Ohio, Illinois, South Dakota, and Michigan, also have some. The township school district is generally coterminous with the township. Townships with a large municipality may have their own school district independent of the rest of the township school district.

Where a township tries to operate a twelve-grade school system, the classes are necessarily small and educational costs high, except possibly in suburban areas. Huntington County, Indiana, is an example. In 1951, the twelve-grade graduates from ten of the twelve townships maintaining high schools totaled 174. The number of graduates per school varied from 12 to 28, averaging 17. On the other hand, the graduating class of the Huntington City High School totaled 105.[27]

The merger of the twelve township school districts with the Huntington City school district to form a single county-wide district has potential merit. This county district might have one senior high school, and possibly three well-placed junior high schools. The majority of the present school plants could be continued as elementary centers. Such an organization would equalize educa-

[27] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, *Directory of Secondary Day Schools,* 1951–52, pp. 28–33.

tional opportunities throughout the county. Other alternatives would be the redivision of the thirteen school districts of the county into two, three, or four natural community districts. The arbitrary straight boundaries of townships frequently divide natural communities and are therefore less acceptable for the delineation of school districts than natural community boundaries. Sometimes the county is an integrated social and economic unit, and the county school district is a "natural."

County school districts.   County school districts prevail in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, North Carolina, New Mexico, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia, and West Virginia. These twelve states have a total of 959 counties and 1,345 school districts. In all of these, except Florida and West Virginia, some cities maintain school districts independent of the county.

In comparison with states in which the common school district or township school district predominates, county-unit states have few school districts. Nevertheless, additional reorganization of districts is desirable in some states. Continued consolidation of attendance centers is imperative. Each of the twelve states, except Alabama and Maryland, has one or more counties with less than 10,000 total population; some with less than 2,000. Bicounty and tricounty school districts which combine small counties would probably enhance educational opportunities, effect economies, and diminish tax inequities. The merger of independent city school districts with their county units could result in educational and economic advantages.

Of the 168 standard metropolitan areas in the United States, 106 comprise one county only. Since they are considered "socially and economically integrated with the central city," they merit study of the advantages of also being educationally integrated units and organized into county school districts. In fact, some of them are already county school districts. Examples are Dade, Duval, and Orange counties in Florida.

The other sixty-two standard metropolitan areas comprise two to eight counties each, with a total of 121 counties. Since each of these areas is also considered "socially and economically integrated with the central city," its educational potentialities as a unified school district merit consideration. If this is not feasible, then each

of the 121 counties might be considered as a single school district. In fact some counties in multicounty standard metropolitan areas are already single county school districts. Examples are Brooke, Cabell, Fayette, Hancock, Kanawka, Marshall, Ohio, and Wayne Counties in West Virginia, five counties in Florida, and Jefferson County in Colorado.

Jefferson County, Colorado is one of three counties adjacent to the city and county of Denver, and a part of the Denver standard metropolitan area. This county has an area of 786 square miles, and had a population of 55,000 in 1950. It had thirty-nine school districts in 1949. Reorganization of districts in this county took place since the passage by the state legislature of House Bill 400 in 1949. This bill required all county superintendents throughout the state to call a meeting of the district board presidents within their counties for the purpose of drawing up a plan designed to equalize educational opportunity for all children. The committee appointed in Jefferson County recommended a county school district. The plan was approved by the voters in July 1950. The former school districts' variations in per capita wealth, tax rates, educational policies, curricula, teacher qualifications, and salaries are now uniform through the county.[28] This reorganization has equalized both the educational opportunities for the children and the burden of the taxpayer in educating them. Such county school districts are more feasible in suburbs than in counties remote from large cities where trade-service centered communities are dominant.

Community school districts.   Half of the people of this country do not live in standard metropolitan areas. The population is distributed over 2.8 million square miles, or 93 per cent of the total land area. They live on five million farms, in some 15,000 incorporated places of all sizes, in unincorporated places, and in the country. They have approximately 50,000 units of school administration.

There are still some states in which the common school district, usually with a one-teacher elementary school, is numerically predominant. However, in many of them the school is closed — a symptom that the one-teacher school has outlived the purpose for

[28] Paul C. Stevens, "Review of School Reorganization's First Year Is Given," *Arvada, Colorado Enterprise,* August 28, 1952.

which it was designed. Elementary-school children in closed
schools are commonly transported to village schools. Graduates
of the country districts attend other districts (usually the high
school in a village) for their high-school education. Village
schools frequently have more nonresident than resident pupils,
especially in the upper grades.

There has been a gradual realignment of elementary-school and
village-school districts on the basis of the emerging natural socio-
logical community. Country districts are uniting with village dis-
tricts. A community school district ideally comprises the territory
of a sociological community — the area in and tributary to the
village center serviced by its institutions, organizations, and busi-
nesses. "Such territory usually includes a village or town or city
(usually a small one) and its surrounding farm territory and con-
stituent neighborhoods. This is the type of district that most
states . . . are now trying to develop." [29]

A 1948 report of the NEA considers that among the charac-
teristics of effective school districts is an enrollment in junior and
senior high-school grades of "not fewer than 300 pupils, or 75
pupils of each age group, with a minimum of twelve full-time
teachers." [30] A small proportion of high schools outside of the
four thousand urban centers meets this specification. Small towns
have small high schools and increasingly, larger towns have corre-
spondingly larger high schools. Small towns are abundant. The
number of places in the United States with less than a thousand
population is twice as many as all other places combined. [31] How-
ever, many small towns feel obliged to have a high school. The
situation in Iowa serves to illustrate this point. Nearly half of all
towns in Iowa with high schools have less than 500 inhabitants, and
nearly three-fourths have less than 1,000. Many population cen-
ters that fall short of being relatively self-sufficing service centers
nevertheless try to operate a high school.

Natural sociological communities have been described in terms
of the provision of services essential to satisfy current human needs.
These services include those that are educational, economic, medi-

[29] Julian E. Butterworth and Howard A. Dawson, *The Modern Rural School,* New
York: McGraw-Hill, 1952, p. 337.
[30] Report of the National Commission on School District Reorganization, *Your
School District,* Department of Rural Education, NEA, 1948, p. 131.
[31] U.S. Census, 1950 Population, *Number of Inhabitants,* Table 5b.

cal, recreational, religious, and social in nature.[32]   It has also been noted that "one may seriously question whether places that cannot support doctors, dentists, banks, weekly newspapers and movies can honestly support satisfactory high schools." [33]

Increasingly, rural people favor larger school districts.   Recent reorganizations are much larger than those of several decades ago. For example, the 65 new central school districts that were formed in New York between 1924 and 1930 comprised, on the average, less than 6 old districts, while the 66 that were formed from 1940 to 1947 averaged over 18.[34]   In Illinois, the first 242 community unit school districts that were formed from 1946 to 1951 averaged 109 square miles, about three times the size of the numerous townships that were formed earlier.[35]

The number of school districts served by the high school varies considerably in most of the states in which the common school district is predominant.   Area, topography, population, wealth, and cultural values of communities differ, and so, no single recommendation can fit adequately all situations.   Nevertheless, some form of school district reorganization is imperative.   In many states the progress in the equalization of educational opportunities, especially for rural children, is dependent partly on reorganization of the local school districts in harmony with modern means of local communication and association.   This necessitates the formation of districts that conform to the boundaries of the natural community — districts of which a youngster will be a member from kindergarten until his graduation from at least the twelfth grade; districts that offer adequate curricula; districts with capable, trained, qualified teachers; and districts with unified taxing and administrative units in which parents are school electors of the one district in which their children attend school.   An increasing number and proportion of reorganizations are trending in this direction.

[32] Robert M. Isenberg (ed.) *The Community School And The Intermediate Unit,* Yearbook 1954, Department of Rural Education, Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1954, p. 31.

[33] J. F. Thaden, "Social and Economic Factors Affecting the Community" in *Developing Community Schools,* Atlantic City Reports, February 15–18, 1954, Department of Rural Education, NEA. p. 27.

[34] *Your School District,* Department of Rural Education, NEA. 1948, p. 201.

[35] J. F. Thaden, "Compatibility of Educational and Sociological Criteria in the Formation of Community School Districts," *Rural Sociology,* Vol. 17, 1952, p. 174.

Questions for Discussion

1. Do the population changes of recent years make possible any experiments previously impracticable?
2. What possible arrangements might be made for schools in areas of declining population?
3. What changes outside the school brought about by the recent population increase will affect the school atmosphere?   In what ways?
4. From the statistics in this chapter, what areas of the country seem to have the greatest interest in education?   What kinds of interest in education?
5. What forces would oppose consolidation of school districts? Consider social, economic, and political groups.
6. Some people wish to maintain small schools in their local communities even though they are expensive and offer an inadequate program.   What reasons, are such persons likely to feel, justify such an educational program?

Suggestions for Further Reading

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